

# THE ŚĀKTA PĪTHAS

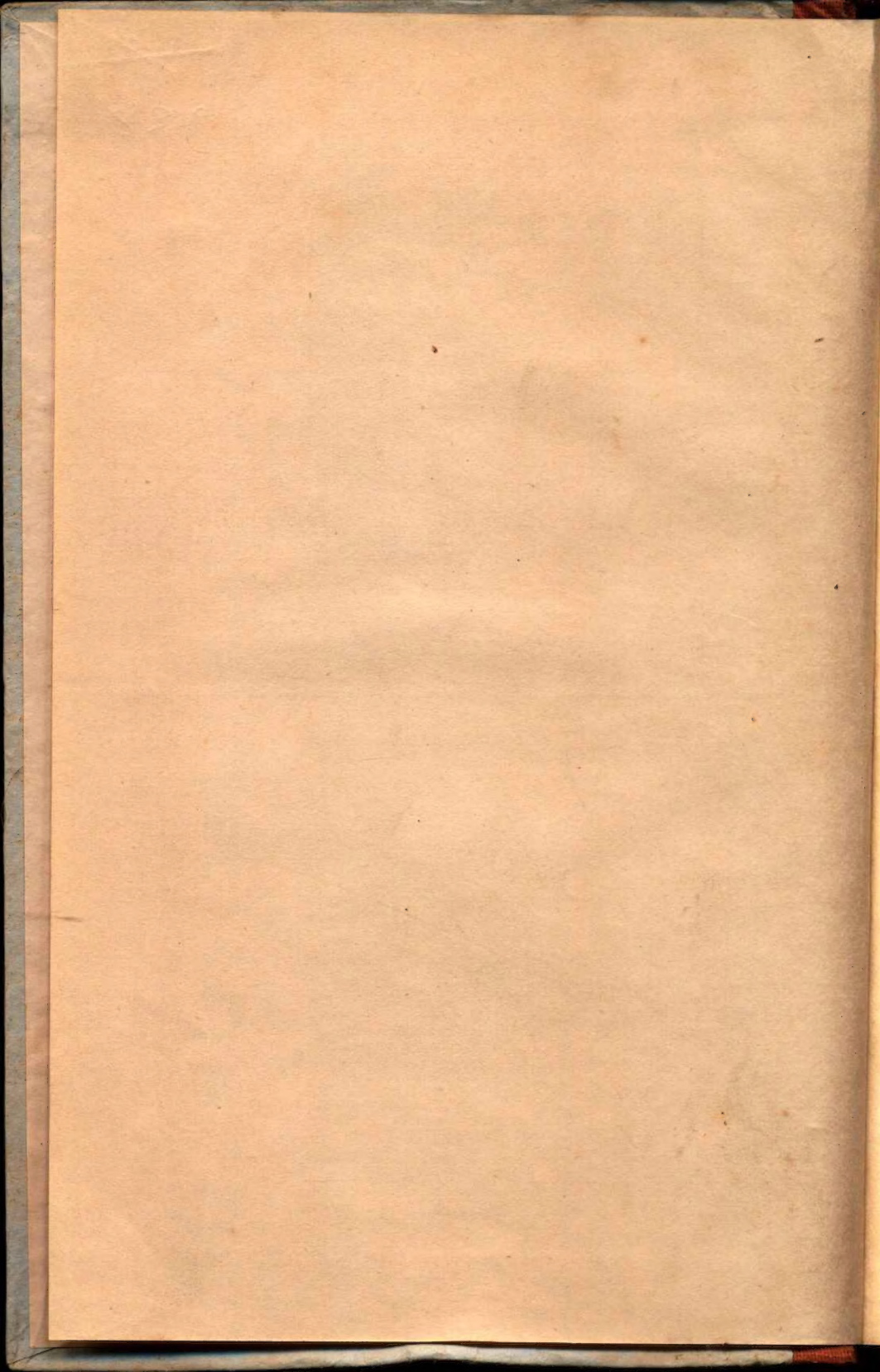
D. C. SIRCAR





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**THE  
SAKTA  
PITHAS**





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and Culture, University of Calcutta.*

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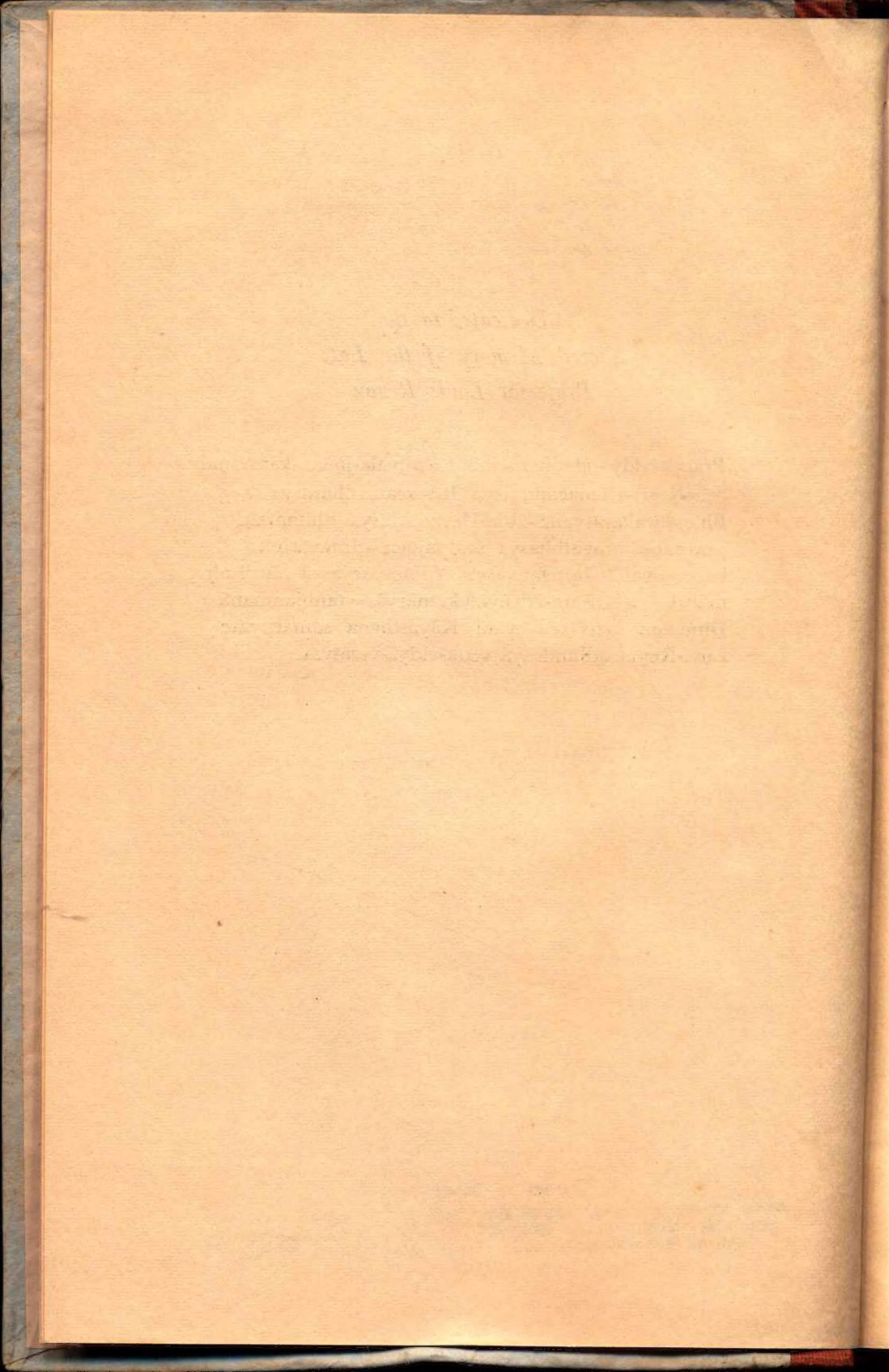
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*Dedicated to the  
Sacred Memory of the Late  
Professor Louis Renou*

Prācyā-vidyā -odadher = indor = ujjvala-jñāna-karmaṇaḥ /  
Sūreḥ śrī-Hemacandrasya Rāyacaturdharasya ca //  
Bhāṇḍāarakara-vaiś-ābja-Devadattasya dhīmataḥ /  
pratnalipi-pragalbhasya svalpajñen = āntavāsinā //  
kaver = vaidy-āgraganyasya Yajñeśvaryasya satpituh /  
mātuś = ca Kusum-ādyāyāḥ kumāryās = tanujanmanā //  
Dīneśena kṛtiś = c = cyaṁ Kāyasthena samarpyate /  
Luvi-Reṇu-sudhīndrāya veda-vidyā-vivasvate //





## FOREWORD

*The Śākta Pīṭhas* by Dr. D. C. Sircar, which is limited and precise in scope but has a wide appeal, brings honour to the young historian of Calcutta. Its basis is a critical edition of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa* which is a short treatise of the late period describing the fiftyone pilgrim spots associated with the Mother Goddess under some of her various names. Each one of the *pīṭhas* is mentioned along with a particular form of the Goddess and that of Śiva associated with it.

The said text passes as a chapter of the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* and resembles some others, so that a plausible edition, based on six manuscripts and four source materials which Dr. Sircar's diligence has succeeded in grouping together, was philologically realisable. The editor adds a reconstructed text, based mainly on a Bengali version, and furnishes other useful matters in appendices, one of them containing an index of the *pīṭhas* with necessary identifications of the localities.

But what doubtless deserves much more attention is the erudite study in the introduction, wherein the author recapitulates what is known or may be presumed about the problem of the *pīṭhas*. Leaving aside minor indications, the legend which seeks to explain the origin of the *pīṭhas* is the well-known epicopurāṇic account of Dakṣa's sacrifice, interrupted by Śiva's wrath. The story seems to have developed out of certain allusions in the Brāhmaṇas referring to the peculiar misfortunes of Bhaga and Pūṣan. In the later Purāṇas and the Purāṇa-type Tantras, the image of Viṣṇu cutting off, part by part, Satī's corpse borne on Śiva's shoulder has been grafted on this legend. The severed parts of Satī's body fell on the earth and each formed a *pīṭha*, a cult having come to be crystallised on it. Dr. Sircar recalls in this connection the Buddhist legends about the Buddha's relics and the more distant Greek version of the Osiris myth. We see here, once again, that a cult, quite well localised geographically, develops on absolutely mythical conceptions.

Certain *pīṭhas* appear to be associated more especially with the breasts and the female organ of the Goddess, probably



analogous to the conception of the phallic emblem of Śiva. Whatever that may be, the religious crystallisation seems to have taken place originally on the basis of a group of 4 *pīṭhas* at a time which, according to Dr. Sircar, may coincide with the appearance of the early Tantras. These 4 *pīṭhas* are supposed to represent the four cardinal points though, from the beginning, the region of Kāmarūpa (Assam) enjoyed a privileged position in the scheme. Gradually there appeared 7 *pīṭhas*, then 10, then 18 (a sanctified number), ultimately (through the intermediate numbers 42, 50 and 51) as many as 108 (an equally expected number). The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* is based on a list of 42, which was later enlarged, by the inclusion of the 10 *mahāvidyās* of the Mother Goddess, the counterpart of the 10 *avatāras* of the Viṣṇuīte cycle.

In an appendix, Dr. Sircar discusses the evidence for determining the date of the celebrated encyclopaedic treatise *Tantrasāra* (first half of the 17th century). Another appendix, the scope of which is more general than novel, deals with the development of the Śakti cult from Vedic times going as far back as the Mohen-jo-daro motifs, the interpretation of which is, however, not quite decisive.

I may specially recommend this study of the *pīṭhas* as a model of accurate and penetrating investigation.

Paris, 1950

LOUIS RENOU

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I am thankful to Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass for their kindness in taking up the reprinting of my work entitled *The Śākta Pīṭhas* which was not available in the market for some time. The book is now presented to the students of the religious life and historical geography of ancient and medieval India with some additional matter. It is hoped that the work will continue to prove useful to those for whom it is intended.

The book has been printed in the photolithographic process so that modifications in the text had to be indicated in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*. A large number of these became necessary for the political changes in the country such as the partition of the subcontinent and of certain provinces, districts, etc., as well as the creation of numerous administrative units of different categories resulting from the merger of the Native States, the reorganisation of the railways and the policy of reorganising the provinces on a linguistic basis followed after our independence. In such cases, we have sometimes avoided a change when it appeared to be minor or indicated it in an unorthodox way. Only in a few places of the book, changes were necessitated by new discoveries and further studies.

The index has been compiled by Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, to whom my thanks are due.

645, New Alipore, Calcutta,  
15th December, 1971.

D. C. SIRCAR





## PREFACE

First Edition

Tantric studies have not much progressed in India. The author of the present monograph originally approached the Tantra literature as a student of ancient and medieval Indian geography, although the subject under discussion in the following pages soon proved to be equally interesting from the viewpoint of the religious life of India. A Tantra text on the Śākta Piṭhas, entitled *Piṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpiṭhanirṇaya*, has been edited here with notes and an attempt has been made in that connection to trace the history of the Piṭha conception with reference not only to the Puranic legend in theoretical explanation of the origin of the Piṭhas but also to the real basis of the conception itself. No less than six manuscripts and four published sources have been utilized in editing the *Piṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpiṭhanirṇaya*). A reconstructed text of the original work has been given in as Appendix, while a large number of relevant texts has been quoted either in the notes or in the Appendixes. The author has also discussed, however summarily, the location of several hundreds of *tīrthas* or holy places, mentioned in various works as Piṭhas. Much, unfortunately, still remains to be done in this direction. Any suggestion from the readers for the improvement of the work will be carefully considered and gratefully acknowledged.

The author is extremely thankful to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Dr. J. N. Banerjea of the Calcutta University, who have taken interest in the preparation of the monograph and have offered some valuable suggestions. His thanks are also due to Drs. R. C. Majumdar, I. B. Banerji and B. K. Ghosh for some help and suggestions. Mr. S. K. Saraswati has laid the author under a debt of gratitude by lending him a valuable manuscript (MS. G) of the *Piṭhanirṇaya* from his own collection. As however, the manuscript was received after the monograph had been ready for the press, it has been utilized mainly in the notes on the text and in reconstructing the probable original text of the work for Appendix I—A.

Finally, the author thanks the authorities and management of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Department of  
Ancient Indian History and Culture,  
Calcutta University.  
September 8, 1948.

D. C. Sircar



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## INTRODUCTION.

### *The Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa.*

There are three manuscripts of a very small work entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa* (Nos. 196, 3400 and 5303) in the Government Collection of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work describes the fifty-one Pīṭhas (literally, altars or seats)<sup>1</sup> or places of pilgrimage, considered to be the favourite resorts of the mother-goddess who is variously known as Devī, Śakti, Durgā, Pārvatī, Umā, Ambikā, Aparṇā, Kālī, Gaurī, etc., and is represented in Indian mythology as the wife of the great god Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The Pīṭhas are mentioned together with the names of particular forms of the Devī and of the accompanying Bhairava (form of Śiva) associated with each of them. It is admitted in the text that it forms a section of a Tantra work entitled *Tantracūḍamaṇi*. Such works as the *Sabdakalpadruma* (1822-52) and the *Prānatoṣaṇi Tantra* (1820), which quote the same text of the descriptive list of fifty-one Pīṭhas, also ascribe it to the *Tantracūḍamaṇi*. The Bengali poem *Annadāmaṅgala* (1752) by Bhāratacandra refers its section on the 'fifty-one' Pīṭhas, although it actually mentions only forty-two names of holy places and does not

<sup>1</sup> In early times altars (*pīṭhas*) appear to have been used as objects of aniconic worship. Sacred spots where particular Yogins or ascetics meditated and succeeded in attaining to *siddhi* or perfection are regarded as *Pīṭha* or *Siddhapīṭha*. The *Sarvā-nandataranginī* refers to Mehāra, a Parganā in the Tippera District, as a Pīṭha-sṭhala, because Sarvānanda attained his Tantric *siddhi* there.

<sup>2</sup> The different names of the mother-goddess appear to have originally indicated different tribal deities who were afterwards identified with the wife of Śiva-Paśupati (Vedic Rudra), a pre-Aryan god, known to have been worshipped by the Mohenjodaro people. *Devī* means the 'goddess par excellence'. *Śakti* (force) and *Ādyā Śakti* (the primeval force) indicate the power underlying creation and the controlling energy responsible for the universal order, the first name being often applied to the energizing power of the different gods. The name *Śakti* is also applied to the female organ worshipped by the Śāktas (devotees of the mother-goddess) just as the Śaivas adore the Phallus of Śiva, i.e. Śiva in the form of the Phallus; cf. Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.; also *yogistotra* quoted in *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 806:

भगवता वगन्नाया (°न्नाता) दृष्टिस्त्रितिलयान्तिता ।

दृष्टविद्यालक्षपात्रा योनिर्ना पातु सर्वदा ॥ See *infra*, Appendix VI.

The names *Durgā* and *Pārvatī* emphasize their relation with inaccessible mountain regions (especially the Himālaya of which the Indian mother-goddess is conceived as a daughter) and suggest that these were originally names of deities worshipped by mountaineers (cf. Śiva's name *Giriśa* meaning a dweller of the mountains). The names *Umā* (cf. Ommo on the coins of Huviška) and *Ambikā* are derived from the Dravidian word *amma* (mother) in the sense of the universal mother. *Aparṇā* signifies the deity 'who is without her leaf-cloth', i.e. naked, nakedness being one of the striking characteristics of the Indian mother-goddess. She must have originally been worshipped by a tribe such as the Nagna-Sabara (the naked Sabaras) of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, just as the Buddhist deity Pārpaśabari was undoubtedly associated with the Pārpa-Sabaras (the leaf-clad Sabaras) of the same work. See *J.K.H.R.S.*, I, pp. 87-88. *Kālī* or the dark-complexioned deity may have been the goddess of some dark-skinned pre-Dravidian tribe; but the name may not be entirely unconnected with the conception of *Kāla* (time or death) with which Śiva is identified. *Gaurī* means the white-complexioned goddess and possibly points to her original worship among the Mongoloid xanthoderms of the Himalayan region. The name *Mahāmāyā* apparently represents the mother-goddess as the spirit guiding the magician priests of primitive peoples. The name was later given a philosophical interpretation. Cf. other names like *Yogamāyā*. *Kātyāyanī*, although it may indicate a deified lady or a family or tribal goddess (Aryan ?), means 'a middle-aged widow in red clothes'. Cf. *Dākṣāyanī*, *Kauśikī*. She is also called the 'maiden', the 'angry' or 'fierce' one and 'death' (*Kālanidrā*).



follow the order in which the Pīṭhas are mentioned in the list of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, to the *Mantracūḍāmaṇi Tantra* which would appear to be a mistake for *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*.<sup>1</sup> The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a manuscript of the Tantra text entitled *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (No. I, F3); but, although it gives a list of the Pīṭhas (p. 178) in connection with the later form of a Tantric ritual known as *Pīṭhanyāsa*, that has little to do with the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*. As the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, avowedly a part of the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, cannot be traced in the Tantra of this name in the Society's library, one has to suggest alternatively either that there are more than one Tantric text entitled *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* and the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* belonged to a different work of this name, or that the ascription of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* to the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, although it is supported by various sources, is without any real foundation. It is, however, very probable that the author of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* wanted to credit his small work with a stamp of authority by falsely claiming it to be a part of an earlier Tantra entitled *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* mentioned in the encyclopedia of Tantric knowledge known as the *Tantrasāra* (pp. 515, 948). This is possibly suggested by the uncertainty felt by some writers about the name of the source of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, variously given as the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, *Mantracūḍāmaṇi*, *Candracūḍāmaṇi*, *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi* and *Pīṭhamālā* (*vide infra*, pp. 42, note 2; 58, note 10).

#### Date of its Composition.

The text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, which is silent as to the date of its composition, seems to have been prepared in the late medieval period. The number of the recognized Pīṭhas given as fifty-one probably points to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century (*vide infra*, pp. 23-24). But the problem of its date is involved in a bigger question

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vaṅgavāsī ed., p. 42: *आमि कहि भन्नुचूडासहितन्न सन ।* A few manuscripts of the work in question read *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi* or *Candracūḍāmaṇi* in place of *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*. The *Rājamālā* (a Bengali chronicle of the kings of Tipperah), *Lahara* I, ascribed usually to the middle of the fifteenth century, quotes verse 18 of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) but refers it to the *Pīṭhamālā Tantra* which seems to be found in some manuscripts as the name of this small work or that of its source. No such manuscripts are, however, known to us. The *Rājamālā* says,

दक्षकन्या सती अहं पतन वेष्टाने ।  
महापौठनिर्णय मुनि वलिजे पुराणे ॥  
शिववाक्च पौठमाला तन्त्रे प्रमाण ।  
वेद राज्ये वेद अहं वेद पौठस्थान ॥  
वेद राज्ये एक देवी भैरव आर जन ।  
दुर्ग नामे पौठस्थान करे निरूपण ॥  
सतीर दक्षिण पद पड़े त्रिपुराते ।  
त्रिपुरासुन्दरी स्थाति त्रिपुर भूमिते ॥  
त्रिपुरेश नामे शिव त्रिपुरा राज्यते ।

It will be clear from our discussion on the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*vide infra*) that the above passage of the *Rājamālā* could have been written only after the middle of the eighteenth century. It cannot be assigned to the fifteenth century as it follows interpolations in a work written not much earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Bhāratacandra's section on the Pīṭhas, styled *Pīṭhamālā*, may have given rise to the name of an imaginary *Pīṭhamālā Tantra*.

regarding the origin and evolution of the conception of the Pīthas with special reference to their recognized number in different works of various periods.

### *An Ancient Legend*

There is a legend offering a mythological explanation of the origin of the Pīthas. The earlier versions have nothing, however, to do with the Pīthas. The germ of the legend can be traced in the *Rgveda* (X, 61, 5-7); but it received its final form in the latest *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* assignable to the late-medieval period. The Rgvedic tradition about the incestuous relation of a father with his daughter was elaborated in the *Brāhmaṇas* such as the *Śatapatha* (*Mādhyandina* version, I, vii, 4, 1-8; cf. II, i, 2, 9; *Kāṇva* version, II, vii, 2, 1-8; I, i, 2, 5-6) and *Āitareya* (III, 33-34); cf. also *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa*, VIII, ii, 10-11.<sup>1</sup> According to the story found in these *Brāhmaṇas*, once Prajāpati, identified with *Yajña* or sacrifice, committed incest with his own daughter Dyaus or Ūsas. Disgusted at this vile act of their father, the gods approached Rudra and requested him to pierce Prajāpati with his arrow. Rudra discharged an arrow at Prajāpati whereupon the latter's *retas* (germinal fluid) fell upon the ground. As Prajāpati represents sacrifice itself and as no part of his body could be thrown away without being utilized in the performance of sacrifice, the gods first took Prajāpati's *retas* to Bhaga who sits on the southern side of the sacrificial ground. Bhaga looked at the thing and at once his eyes were burned. The gods then took it to Pūṣan who, on tasting it, lost his teeth. The concluding part of the story is unnecessary for our purpose. But the first portion of the legend is found a little developed in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II, 1), according to which Prajāpati, while performing a sacrifice, did not offer the requisite share of offerings to Rudra who thereupon 'seizing and piercing it (*Yajña* or *Yajñāṅga*) cut off a portion from it'. A look at it is said to have made Bhaga blind and Pūṣan toothless.

### *Its Development into the Dakṣa-yajña Story.*

The same legend later (sometime before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.) developed into the well-known story of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa-Prajāpati by the god Śiva, also called Rudra. The earliest form of the legend of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* is probably to be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, chapters 282-83; cf. *Brahma Purāṇa*, ch. 39) and a slightly modified form of the same story is found in many of the *Purāṇas* (*Matsya*, ch. 12; *Padma*, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, ch. 5; *Kūrma*, I, ch. 15; *Brahmāṇḍa*, ch. 31, etc.) as well as in the *Kumārasambhava* (I, 21) of Kālidāsa who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries and adorned the court of the Gupta Vikramādityas. According to this modified version of the legend, the mother-goddess, who was the wife of Śiva, was in the form of Sati one of the daughters of Dakṣa Prajāpati. Dakṣa was celebrating a great sacrifice for which neither Sati nor Śiva was invited. Sati, however, went to her father's sacrifice uninvited, but was greatly insulted by Dakṣa. As a result of this ill-treatment, Sati is said to have died by *yoga* or of a broken heart, or, as Kālidāsa says, she put herself into fire and perished. In the *Mahābhārata* version of the story, referred to above, the wife of Śiva is only responsible for pointing out, to her husband, Dakṣa's impertinence in disregarding the great god: but she is neither said to have been Dakṣa's

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.



daughter nor to have died at Dakṣa's house as a result of the latter's ill-treatment. It will be seen that the two strains of the legend as found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, viz. Prajāpati insulting his own daughter and disregarding Rudra-Śiva, have both been cleverly accommodated in the story of the *Purāṇas*. When the news of Sati's death reached her husband, Śiva is said to have become furious and hastened to the scene with his numerous attendants. The sacrifice of Prajāpati Dakṣa was completely destroyed. Śiva, according to some of the sources, decapitated Dakṣa who was afterwards restored to life and thenceforward acknowledged the superiority of Śiva to all gods. According to some subversions of the story, Dakṣa was punished by the demon Virabhadra, created for the purpose by Śiva. The hand of a sectarian devotee of Śiva, eager to glorify his tutelary deity, is quite clear in the above story. It also shows that Śiva was originally a non-Aryan deity who later secured a prominent position in the Brahmanical pantheon. That, however, the story of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* evolved out of the old legend about Prajāpati found in the *Brāhmaṇas* is proved by the fact that the Puranic account (cf. *Bhāgavata*, IV, 5, 20-21; *Kālikā*, XVII, 42-49; etc.)<sup>1</sup> of the destruction of Dakṣa Prajāpati's sacrifice often refers to the blinding of Bhaga's eyes and the breaking of Pūṣan's (or, Sūrya's) teeth, incidents pointedly mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The sixteenth century Bengali poet Mukundarāma, in the *Dakṣa-yajña-bhaṅga* section of his *Caṇḍimāṅala* (Calcutta University ed., I, p. 48) speaks of the blindness of Bhaga and the toothlessness of Pūṣan, both said to have been caused by Virabhadra on behalf of Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

*Further Development of the Legend to explain the Origin of the Pīṭhas.*

In still later times, probably about the earlier part of the medieval period,<sup>3</sup> a new legend was engrafted to the old story simply for the sake of explaining the origin of the Pīṭhas. According to certain later *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* (*Devībhāgavata*, VII, ch. 30; *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 18; etc.), Śiva became inconsolable at the death of his beloved wife Sati, and, after the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, he wandered over the earth in mad dance with Sati's dead body on his shoulder (or, head). The gods now became anxious to free Śiva from his infatuation and made a conspiracy to deprive him of his wife's dead body. Thereupon Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śaṇi entered the dead body by *yoga* and disposed of it gradually and

<sup>1</sup> Cf.

विश्वमेव तं यज्ञे प्रथमं पुरतो भगः ।\*\*\*

तमागतमभिप्रेक्ष्य भर्गोऽपि अशरोषितः ।

अङ्गुल्यप्रचारेण तस्य नेत्रे जघान च ॥\*\*\*

इतस्तस्य सूर्यस्य क्रोधेन दृग्भक्षजः ।

दन्तान् करप्रचारेण शतथासाध वक्रतः ॥ (काशिकापुराण)

For the evidence of the *Bhāgavata*, see Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup>

भगेर लोचन

करिहा लोचन

पूषार भाङ्गिलान दन्त । (चण्डीसङ्गल)

<sup>3</sup> The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, an old work known to Albirūnī, contains interpolations of a date later than the Muslim occupation of eastern India where the *Purāṇa* was modified; cf. I, 10, 121 referring to the caste called Jolā (from *Julāhā*, weaver) said to have originated from Mleccha (Mahomedan) father and a girl of the Indian weaver caste. *Op. cit.*, IV, 43, 25, referring to Siddha-pīṭhas associated with Sati's limbs should similarly be assigned to a date not earlier than the 14th or 15th century. For the date of the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, see *infra*, p. 12, note 5.



bit by bit. The places where pieces of Sati's dead body fell are said to have become Pīthas, i.e. holy seats or resorts of the mother-goddess, in all of which she is represented to be constantly living in some form together with a Bhairava, i.e. a form of her husband Śiva. According to a modified version of this story, it was Viṣṇu who, while following Śiva, cut Sati's dead body on Śiva's shoulder or head piece by piece by his arrows or his discus. The story of the association of particular limbs of the mother-goddess with the Śakta *tīrthas*, which may have some relation with the Tantric ritual called *Pīṭhanyāsa*,<sup>1</sup> belongs, as already pointed out, to the latest stage in the development of an ancient tale. But the story may have some connection with Buddhist legends regarding the worship of Buddha's corporeal relics and the construction of *Stūpas* in order to enshrine them (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 84, 102ff., 120, etc.) as well as with those concerning the various manifestations of Buddha in the Jambudvīpa (cf. the list of 56 countries in the *Candragarbhasūtra*; *I.C.*, VIII, pp. 34-35; *BEFEO*, V, p. 261f.). One cannot also fail to recall in this connection Plutarch's version of the Egyptian Osiris myth: Osiris's brother Set put Osiris in a wooden coffin which he nailed up and cast into the sea; the waves bore it to Syria where, long after, Osiris's sister and wife Isis found it and took the body to Egypt; there unfortunately Set found it and scattered the bones far and wide, whence came the innumerable relics of Osiris shown to the faithful of later days in the temples of Egypt' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, I, p. 332). The mythological interpretation of the genesis of the Pīthas, however, has little bearing on the real origin and development of the Pīṭha conception.

*Conception of the Yonikūṇḍa and Stanakūṇḍa associated with that of the Liṅga.*

The idea of the Pīṭha, associated with certain limbs of the mother-goddess, seems to be essentially connected with that of the Liṅga or phallus. The worship of the *Liṅga* of the great god Śiva originated from the conception of the god as the father or procreator. But in the matter of the procreation of beings the *Yoni* (*pudendum muliebre*) of the mother-goddess should naturally be regarded as much important as the *Liṅga* of the father-god. Both the Father-god and the Mother-goddess were worshipped by the pre-Aryan peoples of India.<sup>2</sup> The objects discovered at Mohenjodaro show that Śiva and Śakti were worshipped not only in the human form but also in the symbolic form of the *Liṅga* and the *Yoni* the former representing procreation and virility and the latter motherhood and fertility (Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52ff.). The *Rgveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3) speaks in a deprecatory manner of a class of people called *śiśna-deva* in which we have probably the earliest literary reference to the worshippers of the phallus. The actual worship of the *Yoni* of the Divine Mother is referred to in certain later Tantric texts such as the *Yonitantra* (cited *infra*). It is interesting to note that one of the popular names of

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Sādhakalpadrūpa*, s.v. *nyāsa*; cf. *aṅganyāsa* (touching limbs with the hand accompanied by appropriate *mantras*) and *śūṅghānyāsa* (six ways of touching the body with mystical *mantras*) from which the *pīṭhanyāsa* seems to have later evolved. Originally certain limbs were mentioned in connection with a Tantric ritual in which the names of the Pīthas were afterwards introduced. In explaining *pīṭhanyāsa*, the *Vācaspatya* says पौडदेवतानां साधारणप्रकृत्यादीनां प्रथवादिनमोनं नृदेव्याचभेदे नमस्कारः, etc. The association of the limbs of the *śūṅgha* with certain localities may have given rise to the belief regarding the Pīthas arising from particular limbs of the mother-goddess.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI.



the mother-goddess is *Bhagavatī* (literally, a deity possessing the *bhaga*). As the word *bhaga* is a synonym of *Yoni*, it is possible to suggest (although it is not easy to prove it in the present state of our knowledge) that the expression *Bhagavatī* originally indicated the female deity who was thought to have given birth to all creatures, and that the epithet *Bhagavat*, applied to Śiva and other gods, is merely a masculine form afterwards coined on the basis of *Bhagavatī*. It should also be pointed out that hills or mountain-peaks roughly resembling a human phallus were regarded in ancient times as the *śvayambhū* (natural) *Līṅga* of Śiva. There is reason to believe that tanks or pools of a particular shape were often conceived as the *Yoni* of the mother-goddess. A pair of hills or peaks of the shape and position of female breasts appear sometimes to have been likewise regarded as the *Stana* of the goddess; cf. Kālidāsa's description (*Raghuvamśa*, IV, 51)<sup>1</sup> of the Malaya and Dardura mountains in the Pāṇḍya country as the two breasts of the lady that is the southern quarter. Water coming out of the springs on such hills could be very naturally taken to be the milk of the mother-goddess. All the three conceptions, viz. those of the *Līṅga* of the father-god and the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess, are based on the bearing the three particular limbs have on the birth and growth of beings as well as on the resemblance that particular natural objects may have with certain human limbs. An idea of the importance the Indians of ancient times must have attached to a bath in the *Yoni-kunḍa* and to the drinking of the water of the *Stanakunḍa* may be formed from another ritual known as the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna*, which was conceived in imitation of the *Yonikunḍa* of the mother-goddess. A pious prince desiring merit and willing to perform the *mahādāna* is sometimes found to have made a *hiranya-garbha* or 'golden womb' which was a big pot made of gold and was three cubits in height. He then entered the pot, of which the priests performed the ceremonies of *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana* and *simantonnayana*, as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. The prince was afterwards taken out of the 'golden womb' and the *jātakarman* and other necessary functions were performed by the priests as if the prince was a newly born child. Thereafter the prince declared, 'O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother and had only the qualities of an earthly creature; but now owing to my rebirth from your womb I have a celestial body' (cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 52-54). The celebration of the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna* was adapted from a ceremonial practice of the devotees of the mother-goddess by the worshippers of the male god Viṣṇu. Just like the concept of the *Līṅga*, that of the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess appears to be very old. The history of the socio-religious life in ancient India suggests that these conceptions, like many others, are due to non-Aryan influence on the culture of the Indō-Aryans.<sup>2</sup>

*Some Early Tīrthas associated with the Limbs of the Mother-goddess.*

It seems that the association of the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess with certain localities belongs to the earliest stage of the history of the Pīthas. The *Tīrtha-yātrā* section in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, which is probably earlier than the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D., refers at least to three Śākta holy places associated with the *Yoni* and *Stana* of Śakti. These are the *Yonikunḍas* at the Bhīmāsthāna near the Pañchanada (Punjab) and on the hill or mountain-peak called Udyatparvata, and the *Stanakunḍa* on the peak known as Gaurīśikhara

<sup>1</sup> क्षान्निवि दिग्गजाः शैलौ मलयदुर्गौ ।

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI.

(cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 82, 83-85; III, 84, 93-95 and 151-53).<sup>1</sup> The name of the Gaurīśikhara (literally, the peak of Gaurī, a form of the mother-goddess) probably connects the peak with the Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata* seems to locate both the Gaurīśikhara and the Udyatparvata in eastern India, the latter probably in the Gayā region. Their exact location is not beyond doubt, although it is tempting to identify the Gaurīśikhara with the peak of that name placed by the *Piṭhanirṇaya* in the Kāmarūpa country in the Gauhati region of Assam. The Bhīmāsthāna (literally, the resort of Bhīmā, a form of the mother-goddess) was situated on the Karamar not far from Shahbazgarhi in the Peshawar District of the North-Western Frontier Province. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 91, vv. 45-46), an early Śākta work, speaks of the goddess Bhīmādevī of the Himācala (cf. also Appendix II, v. 22 *infra*). In the seventh century, this holy *tīrtha* belonging to the ancient country of Gandhāra (Rawalpindi-Peshawar region) was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. According to the pilgrim, 'About 50 *li* (nearly 8 miles) to the north-east of Palusha was a great mountain which had a likeness of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmādevī of dark blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image (*svayambhū mūrti*) of the goddess; it exhibited prodigies and was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India; to true believers, who after fasting seven days

1

(a) अथ पञ्चनदं गत्वा निचतो नियताश्रमः ।

पञ्चयज्ञानवाप्नोति क्रमशो येऽनुकौर्तिताः ॥  
ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र भीमायाः स्नानमुत्तमम् ।  
तत्र स्नात्वा तु योन्यां वै नरो भारतसप्तमः ॥  
देव्याः पुत्रो भवेद्दुःराजन् रत्नकुण्डलविद्युदः ।  
गवां शतसङ्खलस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥

(b) उद्यन्तश्च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गौतमादित्यम् ।  
सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ ॥  
तत्र सन्ध्यामुपासीत ब्राह्मणः संश्रितव्रतः ।  
तेन क्षुपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥  
योनिद्वारश्च तत्रैव विद्युतं भरतर्षभ ।  
तत्राभिगम्य सुच्यते पुत्रपौ योनिस्कृतात् ॥  
लक्ष्मणशुक्लावभौ पत्नौ गयायां यो वसेन्नरः ।  
पुनात्यासप्तमं राजन् कुलं नाख्यय संश्रयः ॥

(c) ततो गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञ तीर्थसेवनतत्परः ।  
शिखरं वै महादेव्या गौरीक्षैलोक्यविद्युतम् ॥  
समारुह्य नरयेष्ठ स्नानकुण्डेषु संविशेत् ।  
स्नानकुण्डनुपस्यूय वाजपेयफलं लभेत् ॥  
तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वाणः पिष्टदेवार्चने रतः ।  
इयमेवमवाप्नोति शक्रलोकश्च गच्छति ॥

The same section of the *Mahābhārata* (III, ch. 83, verses 51, 58, 94, 99, 102, etc.) speaks of other places of pilgrimage, designated Mātṛ-tīrthas or Devī-tīrthas apparently named after the mother-goddess. It is unknown whether they were associated with any of the limbs of the goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Gauri-guru* (father of Gauri), an epithet of the Himālaya in *Raghu*, II, 26; *Nirāṇa*, V, 21; Bedal pillar inscription, verse 5 (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 27), etc.



prayed to her, the goddess sometimes showed herself and answered prayers. At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvaradeva (Śiva) in which the ash-smearing *Tīrthikas* (*Pāśupata Yogins*)<sup>1</sup> performed much worship' (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 221).<sup>2</sup> The account of

<sup>1</sup> In his description of Benares, Hiuen Tsang again refers to the devotees of Śiva some of whom 'cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot; some went about naked and smeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence' (*loc. cit.*, II, p. 47). For the ash-smearing ascetics, see *Bṛhatsamhitā*, ch. 60, verse 19:

विष्णोर्भागवतान् नगांश्च सवितुः शम्भोः सभस्मदिज्ञान्  
मातृणामपि मातृसम्पदकविदो विप्रान् विदुर्वैष्णवः ।  
शक्रान् सर्वद्वितस्य शशानमनसो नम्रान् जिनानां विदु-  
र्ये यं देवमुपाजिताः स्वविधिना तैस्स कार्यः क्रियाः ॥

While annotating this verse, Albirūnī (*op. cit.*, p. 121) refers to the devotees of Mahādeva (Sambhu-Śiva) as 'a class of saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people, and swing in the pools'. They are the Śiva-bhāgavatas described by Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇini, V, 2, 76, and were related to the Kāpālikas known from works like the *Pañcatantra* as characterized by carrying skulls of men in the form of garlands and eating and drinking from them. For this sect, cf. the *Mattavilāsasaprahasana* attributed to Pallava Mahendravarman I (c. 600-35 A.D.), Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (eighth century), an Early Calukya inscription, dated 639 A.D. (referring to the worship of the god Śiva Kāpāleśvara, i.e. lord of the wearers of skull-garlands, and to the maintenance of the Mahāvratins, i.e. observers of the great vow characteristic of the Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas, who resided in the temple of the god), etc. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* (Poona ed.), pp. 165ff.

Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* speaks of a woman styled *yoginī*, who performed the *Kāpālikavrata* at the Śrīparvata and illustrates the *vrata* by the horrible activities of Aghoraghaṇṭa and his female disciple Kapālakuṇḍalā who are represented as coming from the Śrīparvata and staying near the *mahāśmaśāna* (at Padmāvati in the Gwalior State) containing a temple of Cāmundā to whom they were going to offer the girl Mālatī in sacrifice. This eighth century authority not only testifies to the prevalence of human sacrifice before the mother-goddess but also to the interesting fact that the Kāpālikas were devoted to both Śiva and Śakti. The practices of the Kāpālikas are often called *Vīracāra* and *Vāmācāra*.

'From the *Mattavilāsasaprahasana*, it becomes clear that, to a Kāpālika, the *Kapāla* is as essential as is a sacred thread to a Brāhmaṇa. If he loses it, he should provide himself with another in a stated time. He should cover his body with ashes and make himself hideous, and drink liquor from the skull of a human being.... One of the articles of faith is that the effect always resembles, to a certain extent, the cause; therefore from the practice of austerities in this life one cannot obtain bliss in another life, since austerities and bliss are of opposite nature. The Kāpālikas carried in addition to the *Kapāla* a cow's horn both for blowing during their worship and drinking from. The people of this faith associated freely with women Kāpālikas.' Cf. R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas*, pp. 94-95. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* (cf. I, 16, 117, etc.) distinguishes the Kāpālikas from the Pāśupatas as well as from the other Śaiva sects and says that 'the Pāśupatas hate those sects which are guided by the Tantras' (R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Rites*, p. 64; also *Śaṭtriśānnmata* quoted at p. 201). Cf. the words *pākhāṇḍa* and *pākhāṇḍin* in the sense possibly of the Kāpālikas in the *Mālatīmādhava*, V, 24 and the *Mitākṣarā* on Yāj., III, 6. The *Rāj. tar.* (III, 267) refers to Śrīparvata as a centre of the Pāśupatas and also to their existence in Kashmir (I, 17; V, 404). The doctrines and practices of the Pāśupatas (distinguished from the Kāpālikas) as described in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* show that they were not extremists like the latter with whom they were sometimes identified. For the *Ātharvaśiras Upaniṣad* on the early doctrine of the Pāśupatas, see Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*, pp. 158ff.

<sup>2</sup> While describing the Gandhāra country, Hiuen Tsang elsewhere (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 215) says that at the distance of 50 *li* (about 8 miles) to the north-west of certain monasteries (including the Aśoka *stūpa* at Puṣkalāvati, modern Mirziyārat-Charsadda area near Peshawar) there was a *stūpa* at the place where the Buddha converted the 'Mother of Demons' (the Buddhist goddess Hārītī) and that the people of the country worshipped this Demon-mother and prayed to her for offspring. The deity was apparently an aspect of the mother-goddess. The *stūpa* is now called Sāro Mākhe Dheri.

the foreign traveller points clearly to the importance and popularity of the ancient Bhīmā *śīrtha*. The existence of the temple of Śiva at the foot of Bhīmā's peak probably suggests that the association of a Bhairava with the Śākta Pītha is earlier than the seventh century. But it is not definitely known whether the Bhīmāsthāna, Udyatparvata and Gaurīśikhara were styled Pīthas in the technical Tantric sense of the term and whether they were counted among the recognized Pīthas in the days of Hiuen-Tsang.<sup>1</sup>

*The Tradition about Four Pīthas.*

Some of the early *Tantras* refer to four Pīthas. This *Catuspītha* conception may have been associated with a conception of the Sahajayāna school of the Buddhists, according to which one can rise to eternal bliss from sexual pleasure. A Sahajayāna text entitled *Catuspīthatantra* and its commentaries (one of which was copied in 1145 A.D.; cf. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, II, p. viii) speak of the four Pīthas as Ātmapītha, Parapītha, Yogapītha and Guhyapītha and deal with the various kinds of Vajrasattva's intercourse with the Yoginis, such as Prajñāpāramitā and others. This philosophical concept of the *Catuspītha* was either the cause or the effect of the early recognition of four holy places as Pīthas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI. For the association of Śiva with the Pīthas, cf. *Devī-bhāgavata*, Bk. VII, ch. 30, verses 44-50:

अपश्चान् सतीं वक्रौ दह्यमानान् चित्कलासू ।  
 स्तब्धेऽप्यारोपयामास चा सतीति वदन् मुक्तः ॥  
 ब्रह्मन् भान्तचित्तः सन्नानादेशेषु शङ्करः ।  
 तदा ब्रह्मादधो देवास्त्रिन्नामापुरनुत्तमामू ॥  
 विष्णुस्तु तत्राद्या तत्र धनुषदाम्य मार्गणैः ।  
 चिच्छेदावयवान् सत्यास्तत्स्त्वानेषु तेऽपतन् ॥  
 तत्तत्स्त्वानेषु तदासीन्नानासूक्तिधरो हरः ।  
 उवाच च ततो देवान् स्थानेष्वेतेषु ये शिवासू ॥  
 भजन्ति परया भक्त्या तेषां किञ्चिद् दुर्लभम् ।  
 नित्यं सन्निहिता यत्र निजाङ्गेषु परान्तिका ॥  
 स्थानेष्वेतेषु ये मन्त्राः पुरस्करणकर्षिणः ।  
 तेषां मन्त्राः प्रसिध्यन्ति मायाबीजं विशेषतः ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा शङ्करस्तेषु स्थानेषु विरहातुरः ।  
 कालं नित्ये नृपत्रेष्ठ जपध्यानसमाधिभिः ॥

But the early association of Śakti and Śiva at Bhīmāsthāna does not prove that the story connecting certain *śīrthas* with Sati's limbs had already developed in the days of Hiuen Tsang. Cf. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 92n.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to determine what relation the *Catuspītha* could have with the *Catuspītha-parvata* near Jajpur in Orissa and with other Sahajayāna conceptions of 'four', e.g. the *Caturānanda*. The *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (Sastri, *Cat.*, pp. ix-x) is said to have been uttered by Vajrasattva (Buddha) when he was staying in the female organ of Vajradhātviśvarī. The first verse uttered is:

भावाभावविनिर्मुक्तश्चतुरानन्दतत्परः ।  
 निष्प्रपञ्चलरूपोऽहं सर्वसंकल्पवर्जितः ॥

*Caturānanda*, i.e. the pleasures of four kinds, has been explained as embracing, kissing, pressing the breast, and pricking with the nails (i.e. imprinting nail-marks). These are said to last as long as the *thunderbolt* is in union with the *lotus*.



In the opinion of some writers, the *Hevajra Tantra* of the Buddhists was composed shortly before 693 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But according to Buddhist tradition, Padmavajra, author of the *Hevajra Tantra*, was the preceptor of Anaṅgavajra, a son of king Gopāla<sup>2</sup> who founded the Pāla dynasty in Bengal about the middle of the eighth century A.D. If this tradition is to be accepted, the composition of the *Hevajra Tantra* may be assigned to the same century. This early work enumerates the following four holy regions as Pīṭhas: (1) Jālandhara, (2) Oḍḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat valley),<sup>3</sup> (3) Pūrṇagiri and (4) Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup> Exactly the same tradition is followed in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (ch. 64, 43-45)<sup>5</sup> according to which the four Pīṭhas were: (1) Odra, seat of the goddess Kātyāyanī and god Jagannātha,<sup>6</sup> in the west, (2) Jālaśaila, seat of the goddess Caṇḍī and god Mahādeva in the north, (3) Pūrṇa or Pūrṇaśaila (Pūrṇagiri), seat of the goddess Pūrṇeśvarī and god Mahānātha, in the south, and (4) Kāmarūpa,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhana-mālā* (G.O.S.), II, p. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. l-li.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that Oḍḍiyāna was situated in eastern India and is no other than Odra (Orissa) is unworthy of any serious consideration. Cf. Lévi, *Journ. As.*, 1915, pp. 105-10; P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, I, pp. 37ff., 42. For some other unwarranted theories about the location of Uḍḍiyāna, see *I.H.Q.*, XI, pp. 142ff.; *J.As.R.S.*, V, pp. 14ff. For a discussion on the expressions uḍḍiyanabandha, jālandharabandha, etc., see *J.Or.Ac.*, II, pp. 55-68.

<sup>4</sup>

Cf. पीठं जालन्धरं ज्वालं ओडियानं तथैव च ।

पीठं पूर्णगिरिं चैव कामरूपमथैव च ।

quoted by Bagchi (*op. cit.*, p. 38) from the seventh Paṭala of the *Hevajra Tantra*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vaṅgavāsī ed., p. 410:

ओङ्गाख्यं प्रथमं पीठं द्वितीयं जालशैलकम् ।

तृतीयं पूर्णपीठम् कामरूपं चतुर्थकम् ॥

ओङ्गपीठं पश्चिमे तु तथैवोङ्गेश्वरीं शिवाम् ।

कात्यावनीं जगन्नाथमोङ्गेश्वरं प्रपूजयेत् ॥

जगन्नाथं पूजयेत् पीठं प्रथमं जालशैलकम् ।

जालेश्वरं महादेवं चण्डीं जालेश्वरीं तथा ॥

दीर्घिकाश्वोद्यच्छण्डाश्च तत्रैव परिपूजयेत् ॥

दक्षिणे पूर्णशैलम् तथा पूर्णेश्वरीं शिवाम् ।

पूर्णनाथं महाभायं सरोजामथ चण्डिकां ॥

पूजयेद्दक्षिणे देवीं शान्तामपि तथा शिवाम् ।

कामरूपं महापीठं तथा कामेश्वरीं शिवाम् ॥

जीलाश्च पर्वतश्चैवं नाथं कामेश्वरं तथा ।

पूजयेद्दक्षिणे पूर्वं तु जगन्नाथं भैरवं ॥

The *Kālikā Purāṇa*, quoted by Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1133 A.D.) in his *Bharatabhāṣya* and by Aparārka (c. 1115-40 A.D.) and Ballāṣena (c. 1159-85 A.D.), seems to have been originally incorporated in the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*; cf. *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 70. This *Purāṇa* (really an Upa-Purāṇa) is earlier than 1000 A.D. according to Gode, *J.O.R.*, X, pp. 289ff.; *J.Or.Ac.*, II, p. 60. Cf. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 53; *infra*, p. 17, note 4. Some sections may, however, have been later added to the original *Purāṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the god Jagannātha in the Puri temple in Orissa (Odra). For the confusion of Odra and Oḍḍiyāna, see *infra*.

seat of the deities Kāmeśvari and Kāmeśvara <sup>1</sup> in the east. That *Odra* in the list is a mistake for *Uḍḍiyāna* and that Jālaśaila is the same as Jālandhara are clear from another section of the same Purāṇa (ch. 18, 42-44 and 49-51) <sup>2</sup> representing the goddesses Kātyāyanī and Caṇḍī as the presiding deities respectively of Uḍḍiyāna and Jālandharagiri.<sup>3</sup> Other Buddhist works such as the *Sādhana-mālā* (G.O.S., pp. 453, 455) give the four names as (1) Oḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna, (2) Pūrṇagiri, (3) Kāmarūpa or Kāmākhyā, and (4) Śrīhaṭṭa or Śīrihaṭṭa. Śrīhaṭṭa has been substituted in this list

<sup>1</sup> Cf. reference to Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) and Kāmeśvara (on the Kāmākūṭa hill) in some early records of Assam; see *infra*. The identification of Mahāgaurī with Bhuvaneśī (*I.H.Q.*, XXIII, p. 324, *Kālikā P.*, 62, 127) on the top of the Kāmākhyā hill is rendered doubtful by her association with Kāmeśvara. The boundaries of Kāmarūpa are indicated by the *Yoginī-tantra* (Paṭala XI) quoted in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 68:

नेपालस्य काञ्चनारिं ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य सङ्गमम् ।  
करतोयां समारभ्य यावद्विक्रवासिनीम् ॥  
उत्तरस्यां कुब्जगिरिः करतोया तु पश्चिमे ।  
तीर्थत्रयेष्टा दिक्षु नदी पूर्वेस्यां गिरिकन्यके ॥  
दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य लाजायाः सङ्गमावधिः ।  
कामरूप इति ज्ञातः सर्वशस्त्रेषु निश्चितः ॥

This Kāñcana or Kañja Mount is probably the Kunchenjunga. The Dikṣu, which may be associated with Dikkaravāsini although the latter is located at Dikrang near Sadiya in north-eastern Assam, is the modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Sibsagar. The confluence of the Lākṣā (Lakhyā) and the Brahmaputra is in the Mymensing District. The Karatoyā which now runs through North Bengal and falls in the Yamunā in the Pabna District, was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa also according to Chinese sources. A manuscript of the *Yoginī Tantra* (R.A.S.B., No. I. B. 29, p. 33) reads: नेपालस्य च काञ्चरि । Some writers prefer the reading: उत्तरस्यां कुब्जगिरिः । For Kāmarūpa's four divisions (*Pīthas*), viz. Kāma, Ratna, Bhadra or Suvarṇa and Saumāra, see Gait, *Hist. As.*, p. 11. Kāmarūpa is also called Kubjikā Pītha (*Kālikā P.*, 62, 58, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 79-80:

देवीकूटे पादयुग्मं प्रथमं न्यपतत् क्षितौ ।  
उज्जियाने चोद्ययुग्मं क्षिताय जगतां ततः ॥  
कामरूपे कामगिरौ न्यपतद् द्योनिमण्डलम् ।  
तत्रैव न्यपतद् भूमौ पूर्वतो नाभिमण्डलम् ॥  
आलम्ब्यरे स्ननयुग्मं स्वर्णधारविभूषितम् ।  
चंस्रग्रीवं पूर्णगिरौ कामरूपान्तः शिरः ॥ \* \* \*  
देवीकूटे मन्त्रादेवो मन्त्राभागेति गीयते ।  
सतीपादयुगे लीना योगनिद्रा जगत्प्रभुः ॥  
कात्यायनी चोज्जियाने कामाख्या कामरूपिणी (°रूपके) ।  
पूर्वैश्चरौ पूर्णगिरौ चण्डी आलम्ब्यरे गिरौ ॥  
पूर्वान्ते कामरूपस्य देवौ दिक्करवासिनौ ।  
तथा ललितकान्तेति योगनिद्रा प्रगीयते ॥

For details of other Pīthas mentioned here, see *infra*, p. 17. For the same confusion between Odra (placed in north-western India) and Uḍḍiyāna in early literature, see *Mahābhārata*, II, 47, 19.

<sup>3</sup> The location of the Odra (Orissa) country in the western part of India has also to be noted. This points actually to Uḍḍiyāna in north-western India.



for Jālandhara which, however, seems to have been recognized as one of the four Pīṭhas even down to the late medieval period.<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl's '*Ain-i-Akbarī*', composed about the end of the sixteenth century at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605), contains an interesting description of the Pīṭha near Nagarkot together with the legend about the origin of the four Pīṭhas as known to the author. In this connection Abul Fazl says, 'Nagarkot is a city situated on a hill; its fort is called Kangrah. Near the town is the shrine of Mahāmāyā (a name of the Indian mother-goddess indicating "the goddess having great magical powers") which is considered as a manifestation of the divinity. Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues; with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short space of time it is sufficiently amazing. In the Hindu mythology Mahāmāyā is said to be the wife of Mahādeva, and the learned of this creed represent by this name the energizing power of the deity. It is said that on beholding the disrespect (shown to herself and her husband Śiva) she cut herself in pieces and her body fell in four places; her head and some of her limbs in the northern mountains of Kashmir near Kāmraj and these relics are called Śārādā: other parts fell near Bijāpur in the Deccan and are known as Tuljā (Turjā) Bhavānī. Such portions as reached the eastern quarter near Kāmarūpa are called Kāmākhyā, and the remnant that kept its place is celebrated as Jālandhārī which is this particular spot. In the vicinity torch-like flames issue from the ground in some places, and others resemble the blaze of lamps. There is a concourse of pilgrims and various things are cast into the flames with the expectation of obtaining temporal blessings. Over them a domed temple has been erected and an astonishing crowd assembles therein. The vulgar impute to miraculous agency what is simply a mine of brimstone' (Jarrett's trans., II, pp. 312-14). The four Pīṭha-devis recognized in the sixteenth century account are, therefore, (1) Śārādā at modern Sardi in northern Kashmir, (2) Tuljā Bhavānī in a locality in the medieval kingdom, the capital of which was at Bijapur in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, (3) Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa, and (4) Jālandhārī near Nagarkot in the Punjab. Abul Fazl has substituted Kashmir for Uḍḍiyāna. He refers to Jvālāmukhī and not to the neighbouring Jālandhara Pīṭha.<sup>2</sup> The Pīṭha that he

<sup>1</sup> For the tradition of the four Pīṭhas, cf. चण्डीयानौ प्रवक्ष्यामि जपार्थं पीठमुत्तमम् । पूर्णगिरिश्च प्रथममुद्गीयानं द्वितीयकम् ॥ जालन्धरं तृतीयञ्च कामरूपं चतुर्थकम् । . . . शक्तोः सर्वशरीरं यत् पीठं पूर्णगिरिः क्षुत्तम् । तस्याः शिरश्च सुभगे उद्गीयानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ क्षन्तो जालन्धरं ज्ञेयं कामरूपं भगवत्पा ॥ (*Samayācāra Tantra* quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, Vasumatī ed., p. 548); also पुष्पतीर्थे कुचक्षेत्रे देवीपीठचतुष्टये । प्रयागे श्रीगिरौ काष्ठां कालाकालं न शोभयेत् ॥ (*Yāmala* quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsi ed., p. 40). Vide the two *Pīṭhatattvanyāsas* mentioning the four Pīṭhas by name in the *Tantrasāra*, pp. 419-20, 451-52. The Pūrṇagiri Pīṭha is in these cases called *Uḍḍiśānāthā-maka*. For a tradition about five Pīṭhas accommodating the claim of both Jālandhara and Śrīhaṭṭa, cf. षट्चक्रं मेघदण्डश्च उद्गीयानं तथैव च । जालन्धरः कामरूपः पूर्णधौवः (°गिरिः) नीचद्वकः ॥ quoted from the sixth Paṭala of the *Tattvasāra* in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, pp. 39 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> For some foreign notices of Jvālāmukhī, see Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *Jowalla Mookhee*. In the third quarter of the fourteenth century, Shams-i-Shirāj 'Afif (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, III, p. 318) mentions the idol Jvālāmukhī much worshipped by the



places in the Bijapur region may be the same as Pūrṇagiri mentioned in the other texts. The shrine of Bhavānī stands at Tuljapur to the south of Osmanabad in the Hyderabad State. Such was the celebrity of this goddess that, when Śivāji built the fort of Pratāpgarh near Javli, he set up there an image of his patron-deity Bhavānī as the Bhavānī of Tuljapur was beyond easy reach to him (J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 32). It is well known that the Thuggees (both Hindus and Muslims), many of whose organizations belonged to Western India and the Deccan, were followers of the goddess Bhavānī irrespective of their personal religious beliefs. This fact points also to the importance of the mother-goddess in the religious life of that part of India. The Śārādā-maṭha on the borders of Kashmir is mentioned in such other works as the *Saktisaṅgama Tantra* (I.C., VIII, pp. 38, 49). About 1030 A.D., Albīrūnī says (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 117), 'In inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Śārādā, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.' The temple of Śārādā is also mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rāj. tar.*, VIII, 2556, 2706. The ruins of Sardi, where the shrine of Śārādā stood, lie at the confluence of the Kishongaṅga and Kankatori rivers. The old shrine is substituted by the late Śārādā temple at Gusha (old Ghōṣa) which is now visited by pilgrims. See Stein, *Rāj. tar.* (trans.), II, pp. 279-89.

*The Tantric Schools of North-Western and Eastern India.*

Two things are apparent from the accounts of the four Pīthas. In the first place, Kāmarūpa has a prominent place in all the lists of four. This fact may suggest that the Kāmarūpa Pīṭha became unrivalled as a centre of Tantric culture by absorbing the popularity of the other Yoni tīrthas of ancient India at a fairly early date. The name of Kāmarūpa, with which that of the goddess Kāmākhyā (the original name probably being *Kāmā*, a shortened form of *Kāmarūpā*)<sup>1</sup> seems to be intimately associated, is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (middle of the fourth century A.D.) of Samudragupta. But the holy seat of the goddess near Gauhati in Assam does not appear to be mentioned in the *Tīrthayātrā* section of the Vana-parvan, even if the Stanakunḍa at Gaurīśīkhara is located in the neighbourhood. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who lived for some time at the court of the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.) in the seventh century, is also silent about the goddess Kāmākhyā. It is, therefore, not improbable that the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa did not quite attain to her pre-eminence in the days of Hiuen Tsang.<sup>2</sup> Worship of the mother-goddess was, however, widely prevalent among some of the primitive tribes of ancient Assam. The following note on the religious life of the Chutiyas of Assam throws interesting light on the subject: 'The religion of the Chutiyas was a curious one. They worshipped various forms of Kālī with the aid, not of Brāhmaṇas, but of their tribal priests or Deoris. The favourite form in which they worshipped this deity was that of Kesāi

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infidels and situated on the road to Nagarkot and says, 'Some of the infidels have reported that Sultān Firūz went specially to see this idol and held a golden umbrella over its head. . . . Other infidels said that Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlak Shāh held an umbrella over this same idol; but this also is a lie.'

<sup>1</sup> The name of the goddess is traced to the Austric words *Kāmoi* (demon), *Kāmoit* (devil), *Komin* (grave), *Kamet* (corpse in Khasi), *Kamru* (a god of the Santals), etc. Cf. B. Kakati in *Assam Tribune*, October 22, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmākhyā seems to be called Mahāgaurī in the records of Vanamālā (end of the 9th century) and Indrapālā (12th century), kings of Kāmarūpa. See *infra*, Appendix VI.



Khāti, "the eater of raw flesh", to whom human sacrifices were offered. After their subjugation by the Ahoms, the Deoris were permitted to continue their ghastly rites; but they were usually given, for the purpose, criminals who had been sentenced to capital punishment. Failing them, victims were taken from a particular clan, which in return was accorded certain privileges. The person selected was fed sumptuously, until he was in sufficiently plump condition to suit the supposed test of the goddess, and he was then decapitated at the Copper Temple at Sadiya, or at some other shrine of the tribe. Human sacrifices were also formerly offered by the Tipperas, Kachāris, Koches, Jaintias and other Assam tribes' (E. Gait, *History of Assam*, 1926, p. 42; *J.A.S.B.*, 1898, p. 56).<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out in this connection that the Chinese pilgrim noticed the influence of the Pāsupatas or Tirthikas, with whom the Tantric devotees of Śakti and Śiva were associated, all over India—in Jālandhara, Ahicchatra (?), Malakūṭa (in the Far South), Mālava, Benares, Maheśvarapura (on the Narmadā), the land about eastern Makran, Bannu (?) and even Khotan (in Central Asia); cf. *loc. cit.*, I, 296, 331; II, 47, 229, 242, 251, 257, 262, 296, etc. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* not only speaks of a great centre of the Kāpālikas (cf. *supra*, p. 10, note 1), apparently devoted to the god Śiva Mallikārjuna, at Śrīparvata (Śrīśaila in the Karnool District, Madras Presidency, but also of their devotion to an image of the mother-goddess Cāmundā (another name of Tārā or Kālī according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 61, 85-91), entitled Karālā, in a temple at Padmāvati (Padampawaya near Narwar in the Gwalior State).

Another point of interest in the account of the four Pīṭhas is the importance of the Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara and Kashmir countries of north-western India as centres of Tantricism. Hiuen Tsang not only noticed the prevalence of Śakti worship in Gandhāra, but has also left an account of the popularity of Tantric practices among the people of Uḍḍiyāna. According to the pilgrim, 'The people (of Uḍḍiyāna) were pusillanimous and deceitful; they were fond of learning but not as a study, and they made the acquisition of magical formulae their occupation' (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 225). Uḍḍiyāna's eminence in the Tantric world is also indicated by the recognized association of its name with the worship of the Buddhist deities Māricī, Kurukullā (identified with Kālī in some passages cited in the *Tantrasāra*), Lokeśvara and Ūrdhva-pāda-Vajravārāhī (cf. *Sādhanamālā*, G.O.S., pp. 80, 83, 283ff., 361, 439). Indrabhūti, the Buddhist king of Uḍḍiyāna, was a celebrated Tantric teacher who composed the *Jñānasiddhi* and other works. He was the father of Padmasambhava, the famous teacher of the Yogācāra doctrine, who was responsible for the popularity of Buddhism in Tibet and established in that country the great Bsam-yas monastery in c. 787 A.D. with the help of a Bengali (?) Buddhist teacher named Śāntarakṣita or Śānti°. The lady Lakṣmīkarā, a sister of king

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'When the new temple of Kāmākyā was opened, the occasion was celebrated by the immolation of no less than a hundred and forty men, whose heads were offered to the goddess on salvers made of copper. Similar sacrifices were offered to various aboriginal deities. According to the *Haft Iqlim*, there was in Kāmarūpa a class of persons called Bhogīs, who were voluntary victims of a goddess named Ai who dwelt in a cave; from the time when they announced that the goddess had called them, they were treated as privileged persons; they were allowed to do whatever they liked, and every woman was at their command; but when the annual festival came round, they were killed. Magic also held an important place in the estimation of the people, and in the *Ain-i-Akbari* they were accused, among other practices, of divination by the examination of a child cut out of the body of "a pregnant woman who has gone her full term of months"' (*History of Assam*, p. 58).



Indrabhūti, composed the Buddhist Tantra work entitled *Advayasiddhi*.<sup>1</sup> The rule of the Turkish Musalmans, that spread over north-western India from the tenth century, led to the gradual decline of the once flourishing Tantric culture in that part of India.

*Different Traditions regarding the Number of Pīthas.*

Although four Pīthas were associated roughly with the northern, southern, eastern and western regions of India,<sup>2</sup> writers on the subject are not unanimous as regards the exact number of the seats of the mother-goddess. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* account of the four Pīthas has been already noticed; but a different section of the same Purāṇa (ch. 18, verses 42-51) gives an account of seven Pīthas (including the four seats of the goddess described above), no less than three of which are located in Kāmarūpa. According to this section, the Pīthas are: (1) Devikūṭa (i.e. Devikoṭṭa, modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District of Bengal) where Sati's two feet fell on the ground and where the Devi is Mahābhāgā; (2) Uddiyāna where the two thighs fell and where the Devi is Kātyāyanī; (3) Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa where the *puṇḍrum muliebre* fell and the Devi is Kāmākhya; (4) a locality on the eastern border of Kāmarūpa where the navel fell and where the Devi is Dikkaravāsini; (5) Jālandhara where the two breasts fell and where the Devi is Caṇḍī; (6) Pūrṇagiri where the neck and shoulders fell and where the Devi is Pūrṇeśvari; and (7) a locality on the borders of Kāmarūpa where the head fell and where the Devi is Lalitakāntā.<sup>3</sup> A Tantra work entitled *Rudrayāmala*, which seems to have been composed considerably earlier than 1052 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> mentions ten holy places as the 'principal' Pīthas. These ten Pīthas, which include the celebrated four discussed above are: (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Jālandhara, (3) Pūrṇagiri, (4) Uddiyāna (Uddiyāna), (5) Vārāṇasī (Benares), (6) Jvalanti (probably Jvālāmukhī of later texts), (7) Māyāvati (near Hardwar), (8) Madhupuri (Muttra), (9) Ayodhyā (near Fyzabad, U.P.), and (10) Kāñci (Conjeeveram in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. li-liv. Bhattacharya gives the date of the foundation of the Bsam-yas monastery as 749 A.D. But the period of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet is usually assigned to circa 780-95 A.D. by recent writers on the subject (F. W. Thomas, *Indianism and its Expansion*, p. 79).

<sup>2</sup> As the number 3 had a mystic significance with many ancient peoples of the world (cf. the Trimūrti, Triratna, Tribhuvana, etc., of the Indians, the Anu-Bel-Ea trinity of the Babylonians, and the Osiris-Isis-Horus triad of the Egyptians), there was also a tradition about three Pīthas; cf. *Anandārṇava Tantra* quoted in *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 213:

विद्याखण्डत्रयोपेतांस्त्रिपीठांस्त्रिदलान्तरे ।

कामरूपक-जालन्ध्र-पूर्णभूपुर(भूधर)संज्ञकान् ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 13, note 2. A passage (probably adapted from the *Kālikā Purāṇa*) in the sixth Paṭala of the *Bṛhan-Nīlantantra* refers to the same five Pīthas:

देवीकोटं महाभागा उड्डीयानं च भैरवी ।

योनिमुद्रा कामरूपे सच्चिदानन्दसर्दिनी ॥

कात्यायनी कामभूमौ कामाख्या कामरूपिनी ।

जालन्धरे (पूर्णशैले) च पूर्णेशी पूर्णेशैले (जालन्धरे) च चण्डिका ॥

कामरूपे ततो देवी पूज्या दिक्करवाचिनी ॥

The temple of Dikkaravāsini is usually located at Dikrang near Sadiya. Lalitakāntā is now popularly associated with the hill-streams Sandhyā, Lalitā and Kāntā not far from Gauhati.

<sup>4</sup> The *Rudrayāmala* is mentioned in the *Brahmayāmala*, a manuscript of which was copied in 1052 A.D. (Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7). Cf. *supra*, p. 12, note 5.



Chingleput District, Madras Presidency).<sup>1</sup> The language of the *Rudrayāmala* suggests that its author had knowledge of some other Pīṭhas of lesser importance. A passage from this work quoted in the *Kulārṇava Tantra* (*Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, pp. 110-11) actually speaks of the following 18 Pīṭhas: (1) Uḍḍiyāna, (2) Devīaikotha (Devikotṭa), (3) Hīṅgulā, (4) Koṭimudrā, (5) Jālandhara, (6) Vārāṇasī, (7) Antarvedī, (8) Prayāga, (9) Mithilā, (10) Māgadha, (11) Mekhalā (Mekalā), (12) Aṅga, (13) Vaṅga, (14) Kālīṅga, (15) Śīṃhala, (16) Strirājya, (17) Rādhā and (18) Gauḍa. That, however, the list of even the *pradhāna* Pīṭhas were drawn arbitrarily without any basis of accepted tradition is clearly demonstrated by the discrepancy among similar lists of Pīṭhas found in different works. A passage of the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* (Ānandāśrama ed., Pāṭala V, verses 66-67), which was composed considerably earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> enumerates eight important Pīṭhas in the following order: (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Malaya, (3) Kaulagiri, (4) Kulāntaka, (5) Cauhāra (not mentioned in the *Jñānārṇava* list of 42 Pīṭhas and may be a result of misreading), (6) Jālandhara, (7) Uḍḍiyāna, and (8) Devakūta (Devikotṭa).<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, there are only a few common names in the lists of the *Rudrayāmala* and the *Jñānārṇava*. Such is also the case with other lists of the Pīṭhas which usually contain only a number of common names.

There is a very small work entitled *Aṣṭādaśapīṭha* incorporated in Manuscript No. 5913 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This work, which is full of textual errors, is ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (probably the same as Śaṅkara Āgamācārya, the Bengali author of the *Tārā-rahasya-vṛttikā*, an R.A.S.B. copy of which was made in Śaka 1583 = 1661 A.D.) and mentions eighteen Pīṭhas together with the Pīṭha-devīs. Although some of these names are apparently doubtful, it is interesting that the list of eighteen Pīṭhas includes: (1) Lāṅkā—Śaṅkarī, (2) Ālāpura—Yugalā, (3) Śrīśaila—Bhramarāmbikā, (4) Kolhāpura—Mahālakṣmī, (5) Vārāṇasī—Viśālākṣī, and (6) Kāśmīra—Sarasvatī (Śaradā). The location of Bhramarāmbikā on the Śrīśaila and of Mahālakṣmī at Kolhapur in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency is specially interesting because Bhramarāmbā, still worshipped on the Śrīśaila, is not mentioned in the other texts, while Kolhapur reminds one of Kolvagiri, etc., and of Mahālakṣmī or Mahālakṣmīpura (cf. *I.C.*, VIII, p. 49). The interesting work on the eighteen

<sup>1</sup> Vide *tārā-ṣoḍhā* in the *Rudrayāmala*, quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsi ed., pp. 521-22:

मूलाधारे कामरूपं हृदि जालम्बरं तथा ।  
ललाटे पूर्णगिर्याख्यम् चोड्डीयानं तदूर्ध्वके ॥  
वाराणसीं भुवोर्मध्ये ज्वलन्तीं लोचनत्रये ।  
मायावतीं मुखदत्ते कण्ठे मधुपुरीं ततः ॥  
अथोर्ध्वां नाभिदेशे च कस्यां काशीं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥  
दशैतानि प्रधानानि पीठानि क्रमतो विदुः ।  
ऋषदौर्ध्वस्वरैर्वर्गनमोऽनैः क्रमतो न्यसेत् ॥

<sup>2</sup> The *Jñānārṇava* is largely quoted by the Tantrācāryas Brahmānanda and Pūrṇānanda in the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup>

कामरूपं च मलयं ततः कौलगिरिं तथा ।  
कुलान्तकं च चोडारं जालम्बरमतः परम् ॥  
चड्डीयानं देवकुटं पीठाष्टकमिदं क्रमात् ॥

Pīthas is said to have been written down by one Sambhunath Kar of Calcutta in Samvat 1863 = 1806 A.D. from the dictation of an Utkala Brāhmaṇa who was an inhabitant of Jahājapura (Jājpur) on the Vaitaraṇī.<sup>1</sup>

Another Tantra text entitled *Kubjikā Tantra*, usually supposed to be a fairly early work, enumerates the following Siddha-Pīthas: (1) Māyāvati, (2) Madhupurī, (3) Kāśī, (4) Gorakṣakāriṇī or Gorakṣacāriṇī, (5) Hīṅgulā, (6) Jālandhara, (7) Jvālāmukhī, (8) Nāgarasambhava, (9) Rāmagiri, (10) Godāvārī, (11) Nepālā, (12) Karpasūtra, (13) Mahākarna, (14) Ayodhyā, (15) Kurukṣetra, (16) Simhanāda or Simhala, (17) Maṇipura, (18) Hṛṣīkeśa, (19) Prayāga, (20) Badarī, (21) Ambikā, (22) Vardhamāna or Ardhanālaka, (23) Trivenī (probably Muktaveni near Calcutta and not Yuktavenī at Prayāga which is separately mentioned), (24) Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, (25) Nārikela, (26) Virajā, (27) Uḍḍiyāna, (28) Kamalā, (29) Vimalā, (30) Māhīṣmatī, (31) Vārāhī, (32) Tripurā, (33) Vāgmatī, (34) Nilavāhīnī, (35) Govardhana, (36) Vindhyaḡiri, (37) Kāmarūpa, (38) Ghaṇṭākarna, (39) Hayagrīva or Akṣayaḡrīva, (40) Mādhava, (41) Kṣīrāgrāma, and (42) Vaidyanātha.<sup>2</sup>

1

महाकाले नमः । अष्टादशपीठानि लिख्यन्ते ।  
लङ्कायां शङ्करौ देवी कामाख्या काशिकापुरी ।  
प्रदुल्ले सिंग(ङ)लदोपे चामुण्डा कुक्षपट्टने (ऋषि?) ॥  
आलापुरे (एला?) युगला देवी त्रीशैले भ्रमरान्तिका ।  
उज्जयिन्यां महाकाली माहुरे (चन्द्राद्री?) एकवीरका ।  
उत्कले विरजा देवी माणिक्या(?) चक्रकोटिली(?) ।  
हृद्यत्वे कामरूपी(?) प्रयागे माधवेश्वरी ॥  
आलायां वैष्णवी देवी गया माहुरकोटिका(?) ।  
वाराणस्यां विशालाक्षी काश्यादे तु सरस्वती ॥  
अष्टादशानि पीठानि योगिनां ध्याननिर्मितम्(?) ।  
तेषां पठनमात्रेण नरदारिद्र्यनाशनम् ॥

इति शङ्कराचार्यविरचितम् अष्टादशपीठं सम्पूर्णम् । इति त्रीशम्भुनाथकर (करेश)  
उत्कलदेशस्य ब्राह्मण-बेलपुरीकर-अङ्गाजपुरीय-वैतरणोय-ब्राह्मणाच्छुला लिखितम् । संवत्  
१८६३ पौषकृष्णैकादश्याः शुक्ले लिखितं कलिकाताच्छपट्टने । शुभमस्तु सर्वजगताम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Kubjikā Tantra* (Paṭala VII), Manuscript No. 3174 (R.A.S.B.); the same quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* (Vasumatī ed., p. 234) and in the *Vācaspatya*, s.v. *pītha*.

मायावती मधुपुरी काशी गोरक्षकारिणी (v.l. चारिणी) ।  
चिङ्गुला च महापीठं तथा आलम्बरं पुनः ॥  
आलामुखी महापीठं पीठं नागरसम्भवम् (v.l. नगर?) ।  
रामगिरिर्महापीठं तथा गोदावरी प्रिये ॥  
नेपालं कर्णसूत्रं महाकर्णं तथा प्रिये ।  
अयोध्या च कुक्षत्वे सिङ्गलाख्यं (v.l. सिङ्गनादं) मनोरमम् ॥  
मणिपुरं हृषीकेशं प्रयागश्च तपोवनम् ।  
वदंती च महापीठमन्त्रिका अर्धनालकम् (v.l. अन्त्रिकाभर्दमानकम्) ॥  
त्रिवेणी च महापीठं गङ्गासागरसङ्गमम् ।  
नारिकेलश्च विरजा उड्डीयान महेश्वरी ॥



This list, probably composed in eastern India, speaks rather independently of about forty-two Piṭhas some of which seem to represent actually the names of deities. Reference to the Vindhyān region as a Piṭha in this list no doubt points to the resort of the celebrated non-Āryan goddess Vindhya-vāsini (identified with the Indian mother-goddess) whose temple stands near modern Mirzapur in the United Provinces. The antiquity of the worship of this goddess is proved by the fact that, according to Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaha*, king Yaśovarman (c. 730-53 A.D.) offered his homage to Devi Vindhya-vāsini in connection with his expedition for the conquest of the quarters. In the twelfth century, Kalhana (*Rāj. tar.*, III, pp. 394-431) seems to refer to the same deity as Bhramaravāsini<sup>1</sup> in connection with a sixth century Kashmirian king named Raṇāditya. The celebrated Śākta work entitled *Caṇḍī*, incorporated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, gives evidence to the cult of the goddess Vindhya-vāsini (cf. ch. 91, v. 37). That the resort of this early and important deity is not mentioned in all the different lists of Piṭhas containing even names of lesser importance, indicates the absence of recognized traditions and the freedom an author may have exercised in this matter

*Evidence of the Jñānārṇava and the Tantrasāra regarding the Number of Piṭhas.*

Eight Piṭhas mentioned in the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* have been mentioned above. It is interesting to note that a different section of the same work definitely gives the recognized number of Piṭhas as fifty only.<sup>2</sup> These fifty Piṭhas are: (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Vārāṇasi, (3) Nepāla, (4) Pauṇḍravardhana (Mahasthan in the Bogra District, North Bengal), (5) Kashmir, (6) Kānyakubja, (7) Purasthita (v.l. Purasthira), (8) Carasthita (v.l. Candrāsthira, Carasthira), (9) Pūrṇasaila, (10) Arbuda, (11) Āmrātakesvara, (12) Ekāmra (Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa), (13) Trisrotah (the Tista river in north-eastern

कमला विमला चैव तथा माहिष्मती (v.l. माहेयरी) पुरी ।

वाराहो त्रिपुरा चैव वाग्मती नीलवाहिनी ॥

गोवर्धनं विश्वगिरिः कामरूपं कलौ युगे ।

षष्ठाक्षणी द्ययौवो (v.l. °ल्ययौवो) माधवश्च सुरेश्वरि ॥

चौरघातं वैद्यनाथं जानीयाद्दामलोचने ॥

This list can hardly be very early. But the idea (*Rājamālā*, I, ed. K. P. Sen, p. 124) that the *Kubjikā* speaks of 127 Piṭhas is due to the wrong impression created by the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* which quotes several lists from the *Bṛhan-Nīlatantra*, without reference to the source, in continuation of the *Kubjikā* list.

<sup>1</sup> The name has, as the *Rāj. tar.* seems to imply, bearing on the condition of the Vindhyān forests infested with bees. The Indian mother-goddess is given the name Bhramari in some texts (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 91, 49; *Devibhāgavata*, X, 10, 13); cf. the name of Bhramarāmbā on the Śrīsaila. The *Piṭhanirṇaya* locates this deity in northern Bengal and in the Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. It is interesting to note that certain forms of the mother-goddess in western Asia, such as Nanaia and Artemes, had the bee for their symbol. The Indian mother-goddess riding a lion reminds one of the Cappadocian Ma who stands on a lioness or panther. Like Siva, Ma's consort Teshub also rides on a bull and has the three-pronged thunder-bolt (cf. *trīśūla*) as his distinctive weapon. See Raychaudhuri, *D. R. Bhand. Volume*, pp. 301-03. The goddess Vindhya-vāsini is possibly called Śūlini in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 193. The *Gauḍavaha* (verses 285-347) identifies Vindhya-vāsini with Kālī or Pārvatī, associates her with the Kols and Śabaras, and refers to human sacrifices offered to her. For the goddess, fond of wine and flesh and worshipped by the Śabaras, Pulindas and Barbaras, see *Hariv.*, II, iii, 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the expressions *pañcāśat-piṭha-saṅcaya* (v.l. *pañcāśat-sthāna*) and *pañcāśat-piṭha-vinyāsa* in the *Jñānārṇava* (Ānandāśrama ed., Pātala XIV, verse 112); quotation from the same work in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 427n.; *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (MS. No. 1, F 3 in the library of the R.A.S.B.), p. 515.

India), (14) Kāmakōṭṭa (v.l. °koṭa), (15) Kailāsa, (16) Bhrgu, (17) Kedāra, (18) Candrapura, (19) Śrīpīṭha (probably, Śrīhaṭṭa), (20) Oṅkāra, (21) Jālandhara, (22) Mālava (v.l. Mānava), (23) Kulānta (v.l. Kūpānta), (24) Devakōṭṭa, (25) Gokaṛṇa, (26) Māruteśvara, (27) Aṭṭahāsa, (28) Virajā, (29) Rājagṛha, (30) Kolvagiri (Kaulagiri), (31) Elāpura (Ellora), (32) Kāleśvara (v.l. Kāmeśvara), (33) Jayantikā (Jayanti), (34) Ujjayinī, (35) Kṣirikā (Kṣiragrāma), (36) Hastināpura, (37) Uḍḍiśa (from Prakrit *Oḍḍavisa*, *Oḍḍaiśa* > Sanskrit *Oḍṛaviṣaya*, i.e. Orissa), (38) Prayāga, (39) Vindhya, (40) Māyāpura, (41) Jaleśvara (in Orissa), (42) Malaya, (43) Śrīśaila, (44) Merugiri, (45) Mahendra, (46) Vāmana, (47) Hiranyapura, (48) Mahālakṣmī, (49) Uḍḍiyāna, (50) Chāyāchatrapura.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether all the

<sup>1</sup> The same passage is also found in the manuscript of the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (pp. 515-16) in the R.A.S.B. library and in Brahmānanda's *Śāktānandatarāṅgiṇī*, ch. 15 (referring to the *Gāndharva Tantra*).

कामरूपं महापौठं पीठं वाराणसीं तथा ।

नेपालश्च तथा पीठं तथा त्रै पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनम् ॥

काश्मीरश्च महापौठं कान्यकुब्जमतः परम् ।

पुरस्मितं (v.l. °स्मिरं) तथा पीठं चरस्मितमथापरम्

(v.l. चरस्मिर°, चन्द्रास्मिर°) ॥

पूर्णशैलं महापौठमर्बुदश्च ततः परम् ।

आचातकेश्वरं पीठमेकाग्रश्च ततः परम् ॥

(v.l. दासकेशं महापौठम् एकाग्रश्च तथा शिवे ।)

त्रिखोतः पीठमनघं कामकोट्ट (v.l. °टि°) मतः परम् ।

कैलाशं भृगुपौठश्च (v.l. °नगरं) केदारं चन्द्रपुरकम् ॥

(v.l. कैलासभृगुकेदारं पीठं चन्द्रपुरं ततः ॥)

श्रीपीठश्च (श्रीचट्टश्च ?) तथोद्धारं जालन्धरमतः परम् ।

मालवश्च (v.l. मानवश्च) तथा पीठं कुलान्तं (v.l. कूपान्तं)

देवकोटकम् (v.l. देवी°, °कोटकम्, °कोटरम्) ।

(v.l. कैलासं भूतनगरं केदारं पीठमुत्तमम् ।

श्रीपीठश्च कुलान्तश्च देवमातृकमेव च ॥)

गोकर्णश्च महापौठं सास्तेश्वरमेव च ।

अट्टहासश्च विरजं राजगृहमथापरम् (v.l. महापथम्) ॥

पीठं कोल्हगिरिं प्रोक्तमेलापुरमथापरम् ।

कालेश्वरं (v.l. कामेश्वरं) महापौठं महापौठं (v.l. प्रणवाख्यं) जयन्तिकाम् ।

पीठमुज्जयिनौश्चैव विचित्रं लौरिकामिधम् ।

हस्तिनापुरपौठश्च (v.l. पुरकं शौठम्) उड्डौशश्च प्रयागकम् ॥

विन्ध्यश्चैव (v.l. पक्षीशश्च, कान्यकुब्जं) महापौठं मायापुरजलेश्वरौ ।

मलयश्च महापौठं श्रीशैलं मेरुकं गिरिम् ॥

महेन्द्रं वामनश्चैव (v.l. माहेन्द्रं वारुण°) चिरण्णपरमेव च (v.l. चिरण्णं) ।

महालक्ष्मीमयं (v.l. °पुरं) पीठमुड्डियानमतः परम् ॥

आयाकचपुरं पीठं तथैव परमेश्वरि ।

पञ्चाशत्पीठविन्यासं मातृकावद्भासेत् सदा ॥



places mentioned were Śākta tīrthas. In some cases there seems to be an attempt to trace Śākta influence in not only Śaiva but also Vaiṣṇava holy

The same passage is found in the fifth Paṭala of the *Brhan-Nīlāntara* in a modified and corrupt form (cf. *infra*, p. 37, note 1 for the emendations):

कामरूपं प्रियं वाराणसी नैषाधमेव च ।  
 पीठं वर्धनपीठश्च पावकं (पारस्व) कान्यकुब्जकम् ।  
 पुष्याद्रिमर्बुदक्षैव (पुष्या°) एकाग्रमात्रकेयरम् (°वैकाग्रमात्रके°) ।  
 त्रैपुरं कामकोटश्च तथा गुप्तरपुरं (शुभु°) वरम् ॥  
 कैलासं पीठकेदारं (°रं) शुभचन्द्रपुरं तथा ।  
 श्रीपुरं च तथा कात्याः (कन्या°) पुरं जालन्धरं तथा ॥  
 मानवं (मालवं) विल्वपीठश्च देवीकोटं तथैव च ।  
 गोकर्णं मारुतेश्च तथा दृष्टासमेव च ॥  
 अमुकानामगोचश्च (विरजापुरश्चेवश्च) एलापुरमलिप्रियम् ।  
 महापथपुरश्चैव ओङ्कारपुरमेव च ॥  
 जयदक्ष जयपुरम् उज्जयिनीपुरं तथा ।  
 हरिद्रापीठकक्षैव प्रिय(यं)क्षीरपुरं प्रियम् ॥  
 गजाक्षयपुरश्चैव उज्जैनपुरमेव (उज्जैश°) च ।  
 प्रयागश्च तथा षष्ठीपुरमेव शिवप्रदम् ॥  
 मायापुरमतित्रेष्ठं पुरश्च परमेश्वरम् (शमने° ?) ।  
 श्रीशैलमेवपीठश्च हिमालयमहागिरिम् ॥  
 महेन्द्रपुरपीठश्च तथा बलिपुरं प्रियम् ।  
 हिरण्यपुरपीठश्च महालक्ष्मीपुरं तथा ॥  
 चण्डीपुरमतित्रेष्ठं (चण्ड°?) तथा आयापुरं (आयाङ्गपुरं) प्रिये ॥

To give the above passage an appearance of an original composition, it is preceded in the *Brhan-Nīlāntara* by the following verses which mention certain Pīṭhas in the alphabetical order:

अमरेश्वरश्चैवाक्षुरान्तकपुरं तथा ।  
 अम्बिकापीठमत्यन्तमनन्तपुरमेव च ॥  
 अनिरुद्धपुरं वेत्सि तथादितिपुरं परम् ।  
 अणिमादिपुरश्चैव अश्वमेधपुरं परम् ॥  
 अन्नपूर्वामहापीठमम्बुजाख्यपुरन्तथा ।  
 आदिपीठानन्दपीठौ चामोदावादिस्त्रिकरौ ॥  
 आशुसिद्धिपुरश्चैव यथाद्यन्तपुरं सुखम् ।  
 अकम्पादित्यपीठौ च आद्यादिनाथपीठकौ ॥  
 इष्टनाम(°नाम°)पुरश्चैव इन्दिरापुरमेव च ।  
 इलोदयगिरिश्चैव इलान्तेन्दुपुरं प्रिये ॥  
 इन्द्राणीन्द्रोत्थरश्चैव इन्द्रानन्दपुरन्तथा ।  
 पुरमिन्दुवतो नाम तवेन्दुविजयं पुरम् ॥  
 ईश्वरेश्वरयोगौ च ईशानेन्दोश्चरौ पुरम् ।  
 ईशान्येश्वरं देवि कथितं पीठमुत्तमम् ॥

Some of the names mentioned appear to have been fabricated by the author and to have had no real existence.

places. This attempt may possibly be attributed to eastern India. The above list has been quoted and utilized in a *Pīṭhanīyāsa* section of the *Tantrasāra* by the Bengali Tantric teacher Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough the *Tantrasāra*, in spite of its clear recognition of the number of Pīṭhas to be fifty only in accordance with the *Jñānārṇava Tantra*, actually makes fifty-one Pīṭhas out of the fifty enumerated above. This has been done strangely by splitting the name of one of the fifty Pīṭhas, viz. Merugiri (No. 44) into two names, viz. Meru Pīṭha and Giri Pīṭha,<sup>2</sup> in the formal *nyāsa* associating certain limbs with the Pīṭhas.<sup>3</sup> The anomaly was probably the result of a modification of the text of the *Tantrasāra* by later hands. What is, however, more interesting is that the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, which has been quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, who was seventh in descent from the compiler of the *Tantrasāra*, in 1820 adheres exactly to this modified number of the Pīṭhas, viz. fifty-one, although the list itself is independent of the earlier lists of Pīṭhas. As this work is not quoted in the *Tantrasāra* or any other earlier *Tantra* dealing with the Pīṭhas, it seems that the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* was composed or became popular in eastern India shortly after the compilation of the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa (seventeenth century) but before that of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* by Rāmatoṣaṇa in 1820. As the work was utilized by Bhāratacandra in his *Annadamaṅgala* (1752), it must have been composed earlier than the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on the date of the *Tantrasāra*, see Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tantrasāra*, p. 426: लं लं लं मेरुपौठाय नमः कुकुदि; वं वं वं गिरिपौठाय नमो वासस्कन्धे ।

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.*; also the *Rudrayāmala* passage quoted above. The *Tantrasāra* associates the following limbs with the following Pīṭhas: (1) कामरूप—limb not mentioned; according to the *Rudrayāmala* मुलाधार (region of the organ of generation); (2) वाराणसी—मुखद्वार; (3) नेपाल—दक्षचक्षुः (दक्ष = right); (4) पौण्ड्रवर्धन—वासचक्षुः; (5) काश्मीर—दक्षकर्ण; (6) कान्यकुब्ज—वासकर्ण; (7) पुरस्थित—दक्षिणनसु (नसु = nostril); (8) चरस्थित—वासनसु; (9) पूर्णशैल—दक्षगण्ड; (10) शर्वरुद्र—वासगण्ड; (11) आघातकेश्वर—बोह; (12) एकाग्र—अधर; (13) विस्तीर्ण—ऊर्ध्वदन्त; (14) कामकोट—अधोदन्त; (15) कैलास—ब्रह्मरन्ध्र; (16) भृगु—मुख; (17) केदार—दक्षबाहुमुख; (18) चन्द्रपुर—दक्षकूर्पर; (19) औ—दक्षमणिवन्ध; (20) ओङ्कार—दक्षिणाङ्गुलिमुख; (21) जालन्धर—दक्षाङ्गुल्यध; (22) साक्षव (मानव)—वासबाहुमुख; (23) कुलान्तक (कूपान्तक)—वासकूर्पर; (24) देवीकोट—वासमणिवन्ध; (25) गोकर्ण—वामाङ्गुलिमुख; (26) सार्वेश्वर—वामाङ्गुल्यध; (27) अष्टाक्षर—दक्षपादमुख; (28) विरज—दक्षजानु; (29) राजगृह—दक्षगुल्फ; (30) कोखगिरि—दक्षपादाङ्गुलिमुख; (31) एलापुर—दक्षाङ्गुल्यध; (32) कामेश्वर (कालेश्वर)—वासपादमुख; (33) जयन्ती—वासजानु; (34) उज्जयिनी—वासगुल्फ; (35) लौरिका—वासपादाङ्गुलिमुख; (36) चस्तिनापुर—वासपादाङ्गुल्यध; (37) उज्जौश—दक्षिणपार्श्व; (38) प्रयाग—वासपार्श्व; (39) विन्ध्य—शृङ्ग; (40) माथापुर—नाभि; (41) जलेश्वर—उदर; (42) मलय—हृत्; (43) श्रीशैल—दक्षस्कन्ध; (44) मेरु—ककुत्; (45) गिरि—वासस्कन्ध; (46) सहजन्द—हृदादिदक्षकर; (47) वामन—हृदादिवामकर; (48) हिरण्यपुर—हृदादिदक्षपाद; (49) महाशक्तीपुर—हृदादिवामपाद; (50) उज्जौयान—हृदाद्यदर; (51) आयाज्यपुर—हृदादिमुख । It should be noted that the association of a Pīṭha with a limb in the *nyāsa* was suggested differently by different writers.



eighteenth century. The composition of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa* may therefore be assigned to the closing years of the seventeenth century or more probably to the early years of the eighteenth (c. 1690–1720). The reference to Kālighāṭa, whose popularity seems to be associated with the foundation of Calcutta (1690) and whose mention in earlier works is rare,<sup>1</sup> possibly supports this date. The important feature of this work, as it is usually accepted in Bengal, is that its list of Pīṭhas together with the names of the Devī and the Bhairava, includes a number of places in the rural areas of Bengal. The language is in some cases greatly influenced by Bengali. The history of the literature on the Pīṭhas no doubt points unmistakably to the great contribution Bengal must have made to the Tantric literature and culture in the medieval period. The greatest centre of Tantricism seems to have originally been in north-western India. Before the medieval period, the Tantric school of north-eastern India rose to eminence and became a great rival of the north-western school. With the gradual decline of Tantric culture in the north-west as a result of foreign occupation, Bengal seems to have come to the forefront as the abode of great leaders of Tantric thought.

### *The Tradition about 108 Pīṭhas.*

The uncertainty about the recognized number of the Pīṭhas in the medieval period is also demonstrated by another fact. The number 108 had some importance in India to the sectarian worshippers who often attempted to endow their respective deities with 108 names.<sup>2</sup> In the list of such 108 names of a particular deity, names or epithets of various other deities were appropriated, the underlying idea being that the latter are only different manifestations of the former. The love of system and concord, which is a feature of the Indian mind, inspired theologians to harmonize Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva in the compound form of the Trimūrti, Viṣṇu and Śiva in that of Hari-Hara, and Śiva and Śakti in that of Ardha-nār-īśvara. The theory of the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu was likewise the result of an attempt at harmonization of different religious sects worshipping different cult-deities.<sup>3</sup> Even in recent times, the Bāuls of Bengal, both Muslim and

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of Kalighat as a Pīṭha in the *Candīmaṅgala* (16th century) by Mukundaśarma of the Burdwan District. But Vipradīśa's *Manasāmaṅgala* (1495 A.D.) mentions Kālīkā of Kalighat, Sarvamaṅgalā of Citpur (now included in Calcutta) and Betāi-Candī of Betor (near Sibpur in the Howrah District). Even if this reference is not an interpolation, it does not prove that Kalighat was regarded as an important *tīrtha* in the fifteenth century. The sixteenth century author Vamśīdāsa of Mymensing does not regard Kalighat as a Pīṭha. See *infra*, p. 33 and note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the list of various names of Śiva in the *Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā* section (ch. 31) of the *Śiva Purāṇa* and in the *Kedārakhaṇḍa* subsection of the *Māheśvarakhaṇḍa* section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. For a list of the different names of Brahman, see *Padma Purāṇa*, *Śṛīṭikhaṇḍa*, ch. 34; *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa*, ch. 107. The idea seems to have originated from the *Sātarudriya* section of the *Yajurveda* (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV, 5, 1; *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, ch. 16). A Bengali text entitled *Śṛīkṛṣṇa-satanāma* (literally, the 100 names of Lord Kṛṣṇa) is very popular in Bengal and is daily recited by many pious people. There are also later lists of the 1,000 names of some gods, notably Viṣṇu. See *Des. Cat.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, pp. 173, 500, 812, 815, 820ff., 842, etc. For two lists of the *sahasranāma* of Viṣṇu and Śiva, see *Mahābhārata*, XIII, chs. 149 and 17. For the importance of the numbers 108 and 1008, see *Tantrasāra*, pp. 48, 116, 131, 157, 538, 652, 733, 761, 781, 825-26, 903, 905, 918, 920, 973, etc., and 83, 157, 906-07, 928, etc. The importance of the number 108 is clearly demonstrated by the fact that even today the revered names of many religious teachers are mentioned as prefixed by the word *Śrī* for no less than 108 times, although in actual practice *Śrī* for 108 times is indicated by the expression '*śrī* 108'.

<sup>3</sup> See Sircar, 'Sectarian Difference among the Early Vaiṣṇavas' in *Bhār. Vid.*, VIII, pp. 109-11.



Hindu, have been declaring in their songs the absolute identity of Rāma and Rahim, of Christ (Beng. *Khrīṣṭa*) and Kṛṣṇa (vulgo *Kṛṣṭa*), of Śiva and 'Alī, and of Durgā and Fatīma. A section of the devotees of the mother-goddess is known to have endowed their cult-deity with 108 names attempting thereby to identify her with various goddesses and with the female forms (Śaktis or energizing powers) of many gods worshipped in different parts of India. An early list of this nature can be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, ch. 23); but a complete list of the 108 names of the mother-goddess with the specification of her association with particular holy places is probably to be found for the first time in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 13, the particular section, however, being assignable to the early medieval period.<sup>1</sup> The same text has been quoted in the description of the various manifestations of Bhadrakarnikā (a form of the mother-goddess) in the Revākhaṇḍa subsection of the Āvāntyakhaṇḍa in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (which in its present form is not earlier than the twelfth century)<sup>2</sup> as well as in the enumeration of the different names of the goddess Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahman, in the Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa section (ch. 17) of the *Padma Purāṇa*. The same text is also quoted in the *Devībhāgavata* (VII, ch. 30) which, unlike the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and *Padma Purāṇas*, refers to the holy places, associated in this work with the different manifestations of the mother-goddess and of her consort, as Pīthas without, however, mentioning the particular limbs of the goddess and the particular Bhairavas, although it says that the list contains the names of some Pīthas in addition to those that 'sprang from' the limbs of Sati.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 13 of the *Matsya Purāṇa* refers to Vṛndāvana as the resort of Rādhā and to Puruṣottama. There is no genuine evidence to show that Rādhā was recognized as a divinity earlier than the post-Gupta period and that Puruṣottama (Purī) attained to any eminence before the days of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who laid the foundation of the great temple of Jagannātha at Purī. Cf. also reference to Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor in the Jodhpur State), Vaidyanātha, etc., which do not appear to be early, although the *Matsya Purāṇa* in some form must have existed in earlier times.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. references to Rāmānuja (Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, ch. 21) who flourished in the age of the Chola King Adhirājendra (c. 1070 A.D.) and the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana (c. 1106-41 A.D.), to the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Bhoja I (c. 836-85 A.D.) and to King Āma of Kanauj who was either the same as Āma (c. 753-65 A.D.), son of Yaśovarman (c. 730-53 A.D.) or as Āma-Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 805-33 A.D.), grandfather of Bhoja I. Vide *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa-Vastrāpathamāhātmya*, ch. 1ff.; *Brahmakhaṇḍa-Dharmāranyakhaṇḍa*, ch. 36ff. These, however, do not prove that the *Skanda Purāṇa* did not exist in any form in earlier times. In the first-half of the 11th century, Albīrūnī had information about the 18 *Purāṇas* including the *Skanda* (Sachau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 130-31). For a Bengal manuscript of this *Purāṇa* 'written in Gupta hand, to which as early a date as the middle of the seventh century can be assigned on palaeographical grounds', see *JRAS*, 1903, p. 193; Smith *EHI*, 1924, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> A later list of 108 Pīthas is found in the *Prānatoṣaṇī Tantra*, p. 236 (cf. *Vācas-patya*, s.v. *pīṭha*). The verses appear to have been quoted from the *Bṛhan-Nīlatantra* (Paṭala V) which was known to the *Prānatoṣaṇī* (cf. p. 2). As there are several lists in it, the *Bṛhan-Nīla*, itself a late-medieval work, probably also drew from some slightly earlier sources. If it is the same as the *Mahā-Nīlatantra*, it must be regarded as earlier than c. 1550 A.D. when Brahmananda mentioned it in his *Tārārahasya* (Paṭala I). But this date is doubtful, as the *Bṛhan-Nīla* quotes one list of 52 Pīthas.

[पौठानां परमं पौठं कामरूपं महाफलम् ।]

\* \* \* \* \*

पौठप्रसन्नादेवेशि पौठानि षट्पुण्यैरवि ।

\* \* \* \* \*

पुष्करश्च गयात्तेजं अलयाख्यवटस्तथा (v.l. अलयाद्य<sup>०</sup>) ।

वराहपर्वतश्चैव तीर्थश्चासरकण्टकम् (v.l. शिवश्चा<sup>०</sup>) ॥



This interesting list of the 108 names of the mother-goddess and those of as many holy places in different parts of India includes the following names:

नर्मदा यमुना पिप्पला गङ्गाद्वारं तथा प्रियेः  
 गङ्गासागरसङ्गश्च कुशावर्तश्च विष्णुकम् ॥  
 श्रीनीलपर्वतश्चैव कलम्बुकुलके (v.l. °कुलिके) तथा ।  
 भृगुतुङ्गश्च (v.l. °भृङ्गश्च) केदारं सर्वप्रियमहालयम् (v.l. °चलयम्) ॥  
 ललिता च सुगन्धा च शक्रभरौपूरं प्रियम् ।  
 कर्णतीर्थं सदागङ्गा लम्पिकायम् (नम्पिका° ?) एव (v.l. °मेव) च ॥  
 कुमाराख्यप्रभासौ च तथा धन्या सरस्वती ।  
 श्रावस्त्यायमभिष्टं (v.l. °श्रगस्या°) मे कल्यायमसतः (v.l. कन्या°, काष्ठा°) परम् ॥  
 कौशिकीसरयूशोणज्योतिःसरपुरःसरम् ।  
 कामोदकं (v.l. कालोदकं) प्रियं श्रीमत् प्रियमुत्तरमानसम् ॥  
 सातज्जवापी सप्तार्चिसंज्ञाविष्णुपदं (v.l. °सैन्यद्विष्णु°) सद्यत् ।  
 वैद्यानाथं सदातीर्थं प्रियः कालभूरो गिरिः ॥  
 रामोच्छेदं गगोच्छेदं हरोच्छेदं सदानलम् ।  
 (v.l. वामी°; रामोद्धेदं गगोद्धेदं हरोद्धेदं सदावनम् ।)  
 भद्रेश्वरं सदातीर्थं लक्ष्मणोच्छेदमेव (v.l. लक्ष्मणोद्धेदं) च ॥  
 जानौहि प्रियश्रेष्ठा (v.l. °श्रेष्ठा) च कावेरी कपिलोदका ।  
 सोमेश्वरं द्युक्ततीर्थं लम्पवेष्णा (v.l. °वेष्णा°) प्रभेदकः ॥  
 पाटला च सदाबोधिर्नगतीर्थं सदनिका (v.l. °निके) ।  
 पुण्यं रामेश्वरं देवि तथा मेघवनं चरेः ॥  
 ऐलं रमणकक्षैव (v.l. ऐलेयकवनक्षैव) गोवर्द्धनसजप्रियम् ।  
 हरिचन्द्रं पुरचन्द्रं प्रसूदकस्यै प्रियम् (v.l. °मय प्रिये; त्रियम्) ॥  
 इन्द्रनीलं सदानादं तथैव प्रियमैलकम् ।  
 पञ्चासरं (v.l. पञ्चासर°) पञ्चवटी वटौ(ट)पर्वतिका तथा ॥  
 गङ्गाविल्वं प्रसङ्गश्च (v.l. °विल्वश्च प्रा°) प्रियनादवटं तथा (v.l. °वटस्थाय) ।  
 गङ्गावासोचलश्चैव (v.l. गङ्गारामा°) तथैव ऋष्यमोचनम् ॥  
 शीतमेश्वरतीर्थं च वशिष्ठतीर्थमेव च ।  
 हारौतश्च (v.l. °तकं) तथा देवि ब्रह्मावर्तं शिवप्रियम् (v.l. °प्रदम्) ॥  
 कुशावर्तमलियेष्ठं हंसतीर्थं तथैव च ।  
 पिण्डारकवनं (v.l. °वकरणं) ख्यातं हरिद्वारं तथैव च ॥  
 तथैव बदरीतीर्थं रामतीर्थं (v.l. °वास°) तथैव च ।  
 जयन्तं विजयन्तं च सर्वकल्याणदं प्रिये ॥  
 विजया सारदातीर्थं भद्रकालेश्वरं तथा ।  
 अश्वतीर्थं सुविख्यातं तथा वेदशिरः प्रियम् (v.l. वेदशिराप्रियः; देवि  
 शिवप्रियम्) ॥  
 शोषवती नदी चैव तीर्थमश्वप्रदं (v.l. °स्य पदं) तथा ।  
 बागलिङ्गं मातृगणं करवोरपुरं तथा ॥

- (1) Viśālākṣī—Vārāṇasī, (2) Liṅgadhārīṇī—Naimiṣa, (3) Lalitā—Prayāga, (4) Kāmākṣī, Kāmukā or Kāmukī—Gandhamādāna, (5) Kumudā—Mānasa, (6) Viśvakāyā or Viśvakāmā—Ambara, (7) Gomatī—Gomanta, (8) Kāmācārīṇī—Mandara, (9) Madotkatā—Caitraratha, (10) Jayantī—Hastināpura, (11) Gaurī—Kānyakubja, (12) Rambhā—the Malaya or Amala mountain, (13) Kirtimatī—Ekāmra, (14) Viśvā or Vilvā—Viśveśvara, (15) Pūruhūtā—Puškara, (16) Mārgadāyīnī—Kedāra, (17) Nandā or Mandā—the Himalayas, (18) Bhadrakarṇikā or Bhadrakālīkā—Gokarṇa, (19) Bhavānī—Sthānviśvara or Sthāneśvara, (20) Vilvapatrikā—Vilvaka or Vilvala, (21) Mādhavi—Śrīśaila, (22) Bhadrā or Bhadreśvari—Bhadra, Bhadreśvara or Madreśvara, (23) Jayā—Varāhasaila, (24) Kamalā—Kamalālāya, (25) Rudrāṇī or Kalyāṇī—Rudrakotī, (26) Kālī—Kālāñjara, (27) Kāpilā—Mahāliṅga, (28) Mukuteśvari or Maṅgaleśvari—Kotā, Markoṭa, Mākoṭa or Karkoṭa, (29) Mahādevī—Śālagrāma or Śāligrāma, (30) Jalapriyā—Śivaliṅga, (31) Kumārī—Māyāpurī, (32) Lalitā—Santāna, (33) Utpalā or Utpalākṣī—Sahasrākṣa, (34) Mahotpalā—Sahasrākṣa or Hiranyākṣa, (35) Maṅgalā—the Gaṅgā or Gayā, (36) Vimalā—Puruṣottama, (37) Amoghākṣī—Vipāśā, (38) Pāṭalā—Puṇḍravardhana or Puṇyavardhana, (39) Nārāyaṇī—Supārśva, (40) Bhadrasundarī or Rudrasundarī—Trikuṭa, (41) Vipulā—Vipula, (42) Kalyāṇī—Mānasācala or Malayācala, (43) Koṭavi—Koṭitīrtha, (44) Sugandhā—Mādhavavāna or Madhavivāna, (45) Trisandhyā—Godāśrama, Godāvari or Kuḍjāmṛaka, (46) Ratipriyā or Haripriyā—Gaṅgādvāra, (47) Śivānandā, Śubhānandā, Sunandā or Sabhānandā—Śivakuṇḍa, Śivakuṇḍa or Śivacuṇḍa, (48) Nandini—the bank of the Devikā, (49) Rukmiṇī—Dvāravatī, (50) Rādhā—Vṛndāvana, (51) Devakī—Mathurā, (52) Parameśvari—Pātālā, (53) Sitā—Citrakuṭa, (54) Vindhyaśīrṣī—the Vindhya, (55) Ekavīrā—the Sahyādri (Western Ghats), (56) Candrikā—Hariścandra or Harmacandra, (57) Ramanā—Rāmatīrtha, (58) Mrgāvati—the Yamunā, (59) Mahālakṣmī—Karavīra, (60) Umā or Rūpā—Vināyaka, (61) Arogā or Ārogyā—Vaidyanātha, (62) Maheśvari—Mahākālā, (63) Abhayā—the Uśpatīrtha, or Puṣpatīrtha, (64) Amṛtā, Nitambā or Mrgī—the Vindhya cave, (65) Māṇḍavī or Māṇḍukī—Māṇḍavya or Māṇḍava, (66) Svāhā—Māheśvarapura or Māheśvarīpura, (67) Pracandā—Chāgalāṇḍa, Chāgalāṇḍa, Chāgaliṅga or Vegala, (68) Candikā—Amarakaṇṭaka, Makaraṇḍaka or Marakaṇṭaka, (69) Varārohā—Someśvara, (70) Puṣkarāvati—Prabhāsa, (71) Devamātā—Sarasvatī, (72) Mātā, Pārā or Pāvā—the shore of the sea or the bank of the Pārā, (73) Mahābhāgā or Mahāpadmā—Mahālaya, (74) Piṅgaleśvari—the Payoṣṇī, (75) Simhikā—Kṛtasauca, (76) Yaśaskarī, Śaṅkarī or Atiśaṅkarī—Kārttikeya, (77) Lolā—Utpalāvartaka,

सप्तगोदावरं तीर्थं लिङ्गाख्यं सर्वमोदनम् (v.l. सर्वमंफलप्रदम्) ।

[अथोद्धा मयुरा माया दुर्गा द्वारवती (v.l. द्वारा<sup>०</sup>) हरिः ॥

विद्यापुरमवन्ती च काञ्ची मङ्गलकोटकम् (v.l. कोटरम्; कुट्टकम्; नकुल-  
कोटरम्; शकुलकोटरम्) ॥

कालीघटं गुप्ततीर्थं सिद्धाख्यं (v.l. लिङ्गाख्यं) सर्वमोदनम् ॥

किरौटमुत्तरे (v.l. °रा<sup>०</sup>) तीर्थं दक्षिणे (v.l. °णा<sup>०</sup>) तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।

विशालतीर्थं काल्याश्च वनं वृन्दावनं तथा ॥

ज्वालामुखी चिङ्गला च महातीर्थं गणेश्वरम् ।

जानोहि सर्वसिद्धिनां (v.l. °तीर्थानां; °सिद्धानां) हेतुस्थानानि सुन्दरि ॥

The text is not free from defects. Names like Aila, Kuśāvarta, etc., have been duplicated.



(78) Subhadrā—Śopasaṅgama or Sindhusaṅgama, (79) Mātā Lakṣmī or Umā Lakṣmī—Siddhapura, Siddhavana or Siddhavaṭa, (80) Aṅganā, Anaṅgā or Taraṅgā—Bharatāśrama, (81) Viśvamukhī—Jālandhara, (82) Tārā—the Kiśkindhya hill, (83) Puṣṭi—Devadāruvana, (84) Medhā—Kāśmīra, (85) Bhīmā—the Himalayas, (86) Puṣṭi or Tuṣṭi—Vastreśvara or Viśveśvara, (87) Śuddhi or Śuddhā—Kapālamocana, (88) Mātā—Kāyāvarohaṇa, (89) Dhvani or Dharā—Śaṅkhoddhāra, (90) Dhṛti—Piṇḍāraka, (91) Kālā or Kālā—the Candrabhāgā, (92) Śivakāriṇī, Śivadhāriṇī, Siddhidāyini or Śaktidhāriṇī—Acchoda, (93) Amṛtā—the Beṇā, (94) Urvaśī—Badarī, (95) Oṣadhi or Auṣadhi—Uttarakuru, (96) Kuśodakā—Kuśadvīpa, (97) Manmathā—Hemakūṭa, (98) Satyavādini—Mukūṭa or Kumuda, (99) Vandaniyā or Vandinikā—Aśvattha, (100) Nidhī—in the home of Vaiśravaṇa, (101) Gāyatrī in grammar, (102) Pārvatī in the company of Śiva, (103) Indrāṇī in the world of gods, (104) Sarāsvatī in the mouths of Brahman, (105) Prabhā (light) in the solar orb, (106) Vaiṣṇavī among the Divine Mothers,<sup>1</sup> (107) Arundhatī among chaste women, (108) Tillotamā among beautiful girls, (109) Brahmakālā in the hearts of men, and (110) Śakti (strength) in the living beings.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that the names are actually more

<sup>1</sup> They are usually regarded as seven or eight in number.

Cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।

माहेश्वरी चैव वाराहो चासुण्डा सप्त मातरः ॥ or

ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चण्डो वाराहो वैष्णवी तथा ।

कौमारी चैव चासुण्डा चर्विकेत्यष्ट मातरः ॥

(Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *mātr*). In place of Cāmūṇḍā of the first list, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 88) gives Nārasimhī. These seven names are found in the list of the eight *nāyikās* or *yoginīs* to be worshipped along with the form of the mother-goddess called Kaṣṭhikā-Caṇḍikā in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 61, 84:

ब्रह्माक्षी प्रथमा प्रोक्ता ततो माहेश्वरी मता ।

कौमारी चैव वाराहो वैष्णवी पञ्चमी तथा ॥

नारसिंही तथैवेन्द्रो शिवदुती तथाष्टमी ॥

For Śivadūti, cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, loc. cit.

In place of Carcikā of the second list, the *Tantrasāra* (pp. 314, 320) reads Caṇḍikā or Mahālakṣmī. It is not known if they are associated with the eight Bhairavas:

असिताङ्गो वरुणपङ्कः क्रोधस्त्र्यम्भभैरवः ।

कपाली भोषणश्चैव संहारश्चाष्टभैरवः ॥ (ibid., pp. 332f.)

For a list of sixteen Mothers, see *Prānatoṣaṇī Tantra*, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> See the text of the list edited in Appendix I. The *Bṛhan-Nīla* (Paṭala V) and *Prānatoṣaṇī* (pp. 237-38) *Tantras* supply a later list of similar nature.

Cf. पुष्करे कमलाक्षी च गयायाश्च गणेश्वरी ।

अथवा अक्षयवटेश्वरीऽसरकण्टके (v.l. अक्षयाक्षयवटकेऽमरेश्वरी) ॥

वराहपर्वते च त्वं वाराहो धरणीप्रिया ।

नर्मदा (v.l. दुर्मदा) नर्मदायाश्च कालिन्द्यौ यमुनाञ्जलि ॥

शिवानुता च गङ्गायामम्बा देहलिकायमे (v.l. ते) ।

कुमारधामे कौमारी प्रभासे सुरपूजिता ॥

काश्मीरैवाद्गुण्यां च द्राविडे च सुरस्वती ।

महाविद्या सप्तमेधा अगस्त्यायसके तथा ॥

than 108 in number, but that a number of the holy places are only imaginary. The fact that even in an attempt to find out 108 actual *tirthas* that

कौशौतकिप्रियं नाम कौशिकाश्रितं (v.l. घृत<sup>०</sup>) कौशिके ।  
 सारदा सरयूतीरे शोणे च कनकेश्वरी ॥  
 चप्रकाशा यदा (v.l. सदा) देवी ज्योतिर्मय्यन्विसंगमे ।  
 (v.l. स्वप्रकाशवशादेवि ज्योतिर्मती ह्यसङ्गमे ।)  
 श्रीनामा (v.l. श्रीरश्मं) श्रीगिरौ चैव कालौ कालोदके तथा ॥  
 सद्योदरी सद्योतीर्थे नीला (v.l. सद्योदेवी सद्योबुद्धिर्नी<sup>०</sup>) चोत्तरमानसे ।  
 मातङ्गी स्थानातङ्गे (v.l. मातङ्गिनी सतङ्गे ; स्थानातङ्गे) च गुप्ताचिर्विष्णुपादके  
 (v.l. °प्रादुके) ॥

स्वर्गदा स्वर्गमार्गे च गोदावर्यां गवेष्यते ।  
 विमुक्तिश्चैव गोमत्यां विषाशायां (v.l. विप्रगा वा) सदाबला ॥  
 शतद्रवां (शतद्रौ ; v.l. शतद्रां ; शतप्रभा) शतरूपा च चन्द्रभागा च तत्र वै ।  
 रेखावत्याश्च (ररा<sup>०</sup>) ईनाम सिद्धिदा सिद्धितोरके ॥  
 दक्षपद्मदे चैव दक्षिणा त्वं प्रकीर्तिता ।  
 खौरसे (v.l. खौजसे ; खौजिसे) वीर्यदा च त्वं सङ्गमा तीर्थसङ्गमे ॥  
 बाह्यदायामनन्ता (v.l. °सन्ता) त्वं कुबलेने रयेक्षणा (v.l. °रयेक्षणा ; व[रु?] पेक्षणा) ।

तपस्विनी पुष्पतमा भारती भरताश्रमे ।  
 सुकथा नैमिषारण्ये पाण्डौ च पाण्डुरानना (v.l. °वानना) ।  
 विशालायां (v.l. दिशाल्याश्च) विशालाक्षौ सुषुप्तौ शिवात्मिका ॥  
 श्रद्धा कमखले तीर्थे शुद्धबुद्धिर्मुनीश्वरे ।  
 सुवेशा सुमना गौरी मानसे च सरोवरे ॥  
 नन्दापुरे सच्चानन्दा ललिता ललितापुरे ।  
 ब्रह्माक्षौ ब्रह्माशिरसि सदापातकनाशिनी ॥  
 पूर्णिमा चेन्दुमत्याश्च (v.l. चेन्दुमत्याद्यौ) सिद्धयन्ती (v.l. सिन्धोरति<sup>०</sup>)  
 प्रिया सदा ।

जाङ्गवीसङ्गमे दत्तिः (v.l. दत्तिः) स्वधा त्वं पितृतुष्टिदा ॥  
 पुष्पा त्वं वेणुवत्याश्च (v.l. वज्रसितायाश्च) प्रपायां पापनाशिनी ।  
 शंखसंचारिणी (v.l. °संचरणे) चैव घोररूपा सद्योदरी ॥  
 स्वर्गोच्छेदे (v.l. स्वर्गोद्धेदे) सद्यारात्रिः प्रबला च सदावने ।  
 भद्रा च भद्रकालौ च भद्रेश्वरीश्वरप्रिया ॥  
 भद्रेश्वरे रमा विष्णुप्रिया विष्णुपदे तथा ।  
 दावणा नर्मदोच्छेदे (v.l. °द्धेदे) कावेर्यां कपिलेश्वरी ॥  
 भेदिनी लम्बवेण्यां संभेदे शुभवासिनी ।  
 श्रद्धा च शुक्रतीर्थे च प्रभासे चेश्वरी तथा ॥  
 (शुद्धा च शुद्धतीर्थे च प्रभा रामेश्वरे तथा ॥)  
 सदाबोधो सदाबुद्धिः पाटले पाटलेश्वरी ।  
 सुरसा (v.l. सुबला) नागतोर्थे च नागेशी नागवन्दिता ॥



could be associated with Śakti rather arbitrarily the author does not refer to Kāmarūpa and Uddiyāna may point to the author's aversion for these

मदनो च मदनी च प्रमदा च मदन्तिका ।

मेघसूना मेघवने (v.l. °वासे; मेघसूना मेघवने; मेघसूना) विद्यात्

सौदामिनीच्छा ॥

रामेश्वरे महासिद्धिर्वीरा (v.l. महासिद्धि°; °वीरा) चैलापुरे सती ।

प्रिया रमणके (v.l. प्रिये; पियालमार्गके) दुर्गा सुवेशा सुरसुन्दरी ॥

कात्यायनी महादेवी गोवर्द्धने तथात्मिका (v.l. °खिलात्मिका; °नेऽत्मिका तथा) ।

शुभेश्वरी हरिचन्द्रे पुरचन्द्रे पुरेश्वरी ॥

प्रभूदके महावेगा मैनाकेऽखिलवर्द्धनी ।

इन्द्रनीले महाकान्तौ (v.l. °कान्ता) रत्नवेशा सुशोभना ॥

माहेश्वरी महानादे महातेजा महाबले (°वने; v.l. °बला) ।

पद्माक्षरसि सारङ्गा (v.l. पद्माक्षरसि; शारङ्गा) पद्मवर्षा (v.l. °कव्यां) तपस्विनी ॥

वटौपर्वटिकायाश्च (वटपर्वटिका°; v.l. वटौशी°) पद्मवर्गा (v.l. सर्ववर्षा)

सुरङ्गिनी ।

सङ्गमे विन्ध्यगङ्गायां (v.l. °गङ्गाख्या) विन्ध्ये (v.l. विन्ध्य°) श्रीविन्ध्यवासिनी ॥

महानन्दा नन्दतटे (v.l. °वटे) गङ्गावामाक्षले (v.l. बाटाक्षले) शिवा ।

आर्यावर्त्त महायां त्वं विमुक्तिर्हृषिकेशने ॥

अष्टहासे च चासुष्ठा तन्ने श्रीगौतमेश्वरी (v.l. तन्नेशी) ।

वेदमयी ब्रह्मविद्या वशिष्ठे (v.l. वाशिष्ठे) त्वमश्वत्थौ ॥

हारीति हरिणाक्षौ च ब्रह्मावर्त्तं ब्रह्मेश्वरी (v.l. ब्रवे°) ।

गायत्री चैव सावित्री कुशावर्त्तं कुशप्रिया ॥

हंसेश्वरी महातीर्थे परहंसेश्वरेश्वरी (v.l. परहंसेश्वरीति च) ।

पिण्डारकवने (v.l. पिण्डावकरणे) भव्या सुरसा सुखदायिनी ॥

नारायणी वैष्णवी च गङ्गाद्वारे विमुक्तिदा ।

श्रीविद्या बदरीतीर्थे रामतीर्थे (v.l. वाम°) महाप्रतिः ॥

अयन्तौ च अयन्ते त्वं विजयन्तेऽपराजिता ।

विजया च महाशुद्धिः सारदायाश्च सारदा ॥

सुभद्रे भद्रदा भव्या भद्रकालेश्वरे तथा ।

महाभद्रा (v.l. महाभद्रौ) भद्रकाली (v.l. महाकाली) हरतीर्थे (v.l. हय°)

गवैश्वरी ॥

वेददा वेदमाता च वेदेशा (v.l. विदेशे) वेदसक्तके ।

शोधवत्यां (v.l. युवत्याश्च) महाविद्या महानद्यां महोदया ॥

चण्डा च त्रिपदे (v.l. चात्रपदे) चैव जगलिङ्ग वलिप्रिया ।

साहदर्श (v.l. °देशे) जगन्माता करवोरपुरे सती ॥

मालिनी (v.l. मालवे) रङ्गिनी वामा परमा परमेश्वरी ।

सप्तगोदावरे तीर्थे देवर्षिरखिलेश्वरी (देवी श्रीर°; v.l. देवर्षीव°; देवर्षीशा°) ॥

अयोध्यायां भवानी च जयदा जयमङ्गला ।

साधवी मधुरायाश्च देवकी यादवेश्वरी ॥

out-and-out Tantric *tirthas*. It cannot possibly be held that the text was composed before Uddiyāna and Kāmarūpa attained to eminence.

दन्दागोपेश्वरी (v.l. गोपीश्वरी) राधा रासदन्दावने रश्मे (v.l. रमा) ।  
 कात्यायनौ मन्त्रासाया भद्रकालौ कलावनी ॥  
 चन्द्रमाला मन्त्राशान्तिर्मन्त्रायोगिन्यधीश्वरी (v.l. मन्त्रायोगा मः) ।  
 व्रजेश्वरी यशोदेति व्रजयोगिकुलेश्वरी ॥  
 काष्ठां कनककाष्ठौ स्वारवन्द्यामतिपावनी (v.l. स्यादः) ।  
 विद्या विद्यापुरे चैव विमला नीलपर्वते ॥  
 रामेश्वरी सेतुबन्धे (v.l. राजेशी सेतुगङ्गेशी) विमला पुरुषोत्तमे ।  
 विरजा यागपुर्याञ्च (v.l. नागपुर्याञ्च) भद्रेशि (v.l. भद्राञ्च; भद्रेशी)

भद्रकर्षिका ॥

तमोक्षिते तमोक्षी च स्वाहा सागरसङ्गमे ।  
 कुलश्रीर्वंशद्विज (v.l. ° वंशः) माधवी माधवप्रिया ॥  
 मङ्गला मङ्गले कोटे रादे मङ्गलचण्डिका ।  
 ज्वालासुखौ शिवापीठे मन्दरे (v.l. मन्दारे) भुवनेश्वरी ॥  
 कालौघटे (v.l. ° घाटे) गुह्यकालौ किरौटे च महेश्वरी ।  
 किरौटेश्वरी मन्त्रादेवो लिङ्गाख्ये लिङ्गवाचिनी ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

अमरेशमन्त्रापीठे कुशतुङ्गारसंज्ञकः (v.l. ईशतुङ्गारः) ।  
 तत्र दुर्गाद्वयं नाम चण्डिका च महेश्वरी ॥  
 प्रभासे सोमनाथोऽसौ (v.l. ° नाथादौ) देवी च पुष्करेक्षणा ।  
 देवदेवाभिषः शम्भुर्नैमिषे च महेश्वरः ॥  
 तत्र प्रजा च देवो च शिवानी लिङ्गधारिणी ।  
 पुष्करे च राजगन्धिः पुरङ्गता महेश्वरी ॥  
 श्रीपर्वते प्रियं नाम (v.l. प्रिया नाम्ना) शङ्करलिपुरान्तकः ।  
 सायानौ शङ्करौ (v.l. साया विषङ्करौ) तत्र भक्तानामखिलाद्यदा ॥  
 जयेश्वरे मन्त्रास्थाने शङ्करौ च त्रिशूलिनी ।  
 त्रिशूलौ (v.l. त्रिशूलः) शङ्करस्तत्र सर्वपापविमोचकः ॥  
 आद्यातकपुरे (v.l. ° तकेश्वरे) सूक्तः सूक्ताख्या परमेश्वरी ।  
 ( मन्त्राकाले मन्त्राकालौ मन्त्राकालौ महेश्वरी ॥  
 मध्ये शिवस्य [v.l. शिवस्य] सर्वत्र सर्वोपी परमेश्वरी ।  
 केदारेश्वर ईशानो देवी सन्मार्गादयिनी ॥  
 भैरवे भैरवः शम्भुर्भैरवौ परमेश्वरी ।)  
 गर्गक्षेत्रे (v.l. गणः) मङ्गलाख्या शिवोऽयं प्रपितामहः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे शिवः स्थाणुः शिवा स्थाणुप्रिया परा ।  
 इष्टनाभे खड्गभूय देवौ स्वायम्भूवा मता ॥  
 अथः कनकले प्रोक्तः शिवोऽयं (शिवोऽयं; v.l. शिवोऽयं) शिववल्गभा ।  
 विमलेश्वरे विश्वशम्भुविद्या (v.l. ° विश्वस्तु; ° रिष्टा) विश्वप्रिया सदा ॥



*Freedom of the Writers on the Pīṭhas from any Common Tradition.*

We have seen that the lists of the Pīṭhas and those of the Devis and Bhairavas connected with each of them are variously prepared by different authors and have a great deal of discrepancy among them. There was apparently little influence on these writers of something like a recognized tradition about the number of the Pīṭhas, the names of the deities worshipped at them, and their association with particular limbs of the mother-goddess. Names of the *tīrtha*, Devi and Bhairava were often fabricated by the writers and the association of a *tīrtha* with one of Sati's limbs was also determined usually by their individual imagination. The fact that in many cases entire countries are mentioned as Pīṭhas suggests that the writers had only vague ideas about some of the *tīrthas* and often took resort to imagination. That medieval writers on the subject of the Pīṭhas took the greatest liberty in these respects is clearly demonstrated by the sixteenth century Bengali

सदृचासि सद्धानन्दो सद्धानन्दा सहेचरी ।

सद्धान्तको सहेन्द्रे च पार्वती च सद्धान्तका ॥

भौमेचरी भौमपीठे शिवा भौमेचरी तथा ।

वस्त्रपादे ( वस्त्रापथे ? ) भवनास भवानी भुवनेचरी ॥

अद्रिकूटे सदायोगी रुद्रापी परमेचरी ।

अविमुक्ते सदादेवो विशालाक्षी शिवा परा ॥

सद्वालये (v.l. सदासाये) चरो रुद्रो सदाभागा शिवा तथा ।

सदाचलश्च गोकर्णे शिवभद्रा (v.l. शिवा ज्ञेया) च चण्डिका ॥

भद्रकर्णे सदादेवी भद्रा च कर्षिका तथा (च भद्रकर्षिका) ।

सुपर्णाख्ये (v.l. सुवर्णाख्ये) सद्वाला उत्यला परमेचरी ॥

स्वायुसंज्ञे शिवस्वा श्रौचरस्वा (स्वायुसंज्ञः शिवः स्वायुश्रौचरः; v.l. स्वायुसंज्ञे

शिवस्वा श्रौचरः स्वाभीचरा; शिवः स्वायुश्रौचरः) श्रौचरा शिवा ।

कमलालये (v.l. कलालये) सदास्थाने (v.l. °स्थाने) कमलाक्षी सहेचरी ॥

कमलाक्षी सहेशानि सकलार्थप्रदायिनी ।

जगलण्डे (v.l. जगला तु) कपर्दी च प्रसरा (v.l. प्रसभा) च सहेचरी ॥

जङ्घरेता वरेण्ये (v.l. तरण्डे; चरण्ये) च सन्ध्याख्या परमेचरी ।

माकोटाख्ये (माकोटाख्ये; v.l. साकोटे च) सदाकोटः शिवा च सुण्डकेचरी ॥

(सण्डलेचरपीठे च शङ्करः खाण्डवी शिवा ॥)

(कालाक्षरे नीलकण्ठो हर [हरः] काली शिवा सता ।

स्वलेचरे (v.l. °चरो) स्वलोनाम्ना स्वलाख्या परमेचरी ॥)

सण्डलेचरपीठे (v.l. मातुले°) च करवीराचलेचरः (v.l. °रार्थमेचरा) ।

श्रीसद्गुप्ताप्रपुरे सालाङ्गरनामा सभापतिः ॥

\* \* \* \*

अस्मिन् सच्चोक्तमे स्थाने शिवगङ्गाख्यसङ्गतम् ।

तडागमसि तत्तीरे दक्षिणे न्यत्यनीचरः ॥

\* \* \* \*

[अष्टोत्तरसहस्रान्तु जपेद्ब्रह्मासुदान्वितः ।]

poet Mukundarāma in the *Dakṣa-yajña-bhaṅga* section of his *Caṇḍimaṅgala*. According to an interpolated passage found in some manuscripts of this work, the following nine places are the Pīthas where Sati's limbs fell: (1) Ghāṭasīlā (between the Kharagpur and Tatanagar Railway Stations on the B.N.R.) where Sati's left foot fell and where the Devī is Rukmini (apparently the Sanskritized form of the name of the aboriginal deity Raṅkiṇī whose worship is widely prevalent in the Burdwan Division of Bengal and the adjoining region of the west),<sup>1</sup> (2) Yājapura (in Orissa) where the right foot fell and where the Devī is Virajā, (3) Rājabolahāṭa (near Serampur in the Hooghly District) where the left hand fell and where the Devī is Viśālālocanī, (4) Bālidāṅgā (near Dhaniakhali in the Hooghly District) where the right hand fell and where the Devī is Rājeśvari, (5) Kṣiragrāma (near Katwa in the Burdwan District) where the back fell and where the Devī is Yogādya, (6) Nagarakoṭa where the head fell and where the Devī is Jvālāmukhī, (7) Hīṅglāja (in Baluchistan) where the navel fell,<sup>2</sup> (8) Kāmākhyā where the central part of Sati's body fell and where the Devī is Kāmarūpa-Kāmākhyā, and (9) Vārāṇasī where the chest fell and where the Devī is Viśālākṣī.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say that the unimportant

<sup>1</sup> For human sacrifices in the Raṅkiṇī temple at Burdwan, see an instance cited in the newspapers in January, 1837, and quoted by B. N. Banerji in *Samvādpātre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. II, pp. 532-34.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to defect in the text, the name of the Devī at Hīṅglāja cannot be determined.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Calcutta University ed., pp. 49-50:

चक्र कौटर्क धरि	शरीरे प्रवेश करि
ग्रन्थे ग्रन्थे काटिते लागिल ।	
वासचरण निळा	पडिल ये घाटशिला
तार नाम बन्निषी इहल ॥	
दक्षिण चरणवरे	पडिल ये बाजपुरे
तार नाम इहल विरजा ।	
देवता सकल मेलि	सिद्धपौठ तारे बलि
सुरपति तार करे पूजा ॥	
चक्र सव्य हात काटे	पडे राजबोलहाटे
विशाललोचनी महेश्वरी ।	
सतीर दक्षिण हाथ	बालिडाडाय डेहल पान
राजेश्वरी बलि नाम धरि ॥	
तवे सदाशिव धाय	महापरित्रय पाय
चौरग्रामे करिला विश्राम ।	
ताडे छहदेश पडे	देवेर चामन्द बाडे
योगाद्या इहल तार नाम ॥	
तवे प्रभु धूर्जटे	गेलिन नगरकोटे
दिवसेक रहिला पिपाकी ।	
मसक काटे चक्रकौट	सेइ मरु सिद्धपौठ
तार नाम डेहल ज्वालामुखी ॥	



rural *deva-sthānas* in Rāḍha, such as Rājābolahāṭa and Bāliḍāngā, received the status of Pīṭha in the hands of Mukundarāma merely because the poet was originally an inhabitant of the village of Dāmūnyā in the Burdwan District. The *Pīṭhamīmāṃsā* (in its accepted form), likewise, includes in the list of Pīṭhas Chittagong, Tipperah, Nalahati, Vakresvara, Kiritakonā, Jessore, Kalighat, etc., which are late and unimportant *deva-sthānas* in Bengal.

तवे त देवेर राज	उत्तरिल्ला हिल्लाज
नाभिखल पड़िल तथाय ।	
देवकरे तन्त्रमान (?)	सेइ मन्नाभदखान
जपिले पातक नाश पाय ॥	
ईशाने ईशान थाय	उत्तरिल्ला कामिखाय
तथा डेल देवीप्रियखान ।	
मध्य चक्र काटे कौट	सेइ मन्नासिद्धपीठ
काङ्कप कामाख्या तार नाम ॥	
तवे त कैलासवासौ	उत्तरिल्ला वाराणसी
बलःखल पड़िल ताहाते ।	
विशालाक्षी रूप डेल	सर्व देव पूजा कैल
उठे शिव शूल करि जाते ॥	
प्रभु शूल शून्य देखि	खेहेते सजल आँखि
खलिखल पारल शूलखाते ।	
कावण पदान्यवलि	सेइ खलि कण्ठ धरि
ध्यान करि वसिलेन योगे ॥	

It is very interesting to note that the name of Kālighāṭa near Calcutta is not found in this list prepared in South-west Bengal possibly a little later than the composition of the *Candāmāṅgala*. The popularity of Kālighāṭa is probably later than the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock in 1690. Cf. *supra*, p. 24, note 1. Certain editions of Vamśidāsa's *Manasāmaṅgala*, said to be composed in 1570 A.D., has:

एतेक शूनिया हरि वल्लकौट चरया ।  
 खण्ड खण्ड करि काटे चङ्गे प्रवेशिया ॥  
 सतीर साधार केस पड़िलेक यथा ।  
 काशी नामे तीर्थ डेल पूजये देवता ॥  
 चलगुला खसिया ये पड़िल येखाने ।  
 उग्रतारा नाम तीर्थ विख्यान भुवने ॥  
 मुक्क'ते जिझा पड़िल यथा थाकि ।  
 देवेर दुर्लभ तीर्थ नाम न्नालामुखौ ॥  
 नाभि काटिया विष्णु पाड़िल येखाने ।  
 नाभिगया नाम ताहा विख्यान भुवने ॥  
 दुइ चङ्ग खावे मात्र केस नाहि काड़े ।  
 नीलाचल गिरि गिया योनिमुद्रा पड़े ॥  
 कामाख्या नाम तार चारिवेदे गाढ़ ।

Note the non-mention of Kalighat and the differences of this account from the other. Mahal Kalkattā in Sarkār Satgāon is, however, mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as paying in 1582, together with two other Mauzas, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905 (*J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 217).

but omits such important old names as Uḍḍiyāna and Pūrṇagiri. The absence of such celebrated deities as Vindhyavāsini is also striking. Some obscure names, e.g. Maṇiveda, Ratnāvali, etc., do not appear in the earlier lists. Another feature of the list is that it (in its usually accepted form) not only regards the Devī's *hāra* (necklace), *kuṇḍala* (ear-ring) *kirīṭa* (crown) and *nūpura* (anklet) as so many of her limbs but, strangely enough, even includes in the same category her *manas* (mind). The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was probably poor, while the copyists and modifiers of the work could hardly claim any knowledge of the language. As a result of this, different versions of the text before us are full of discrepancies and mistakes often of an extremely baffling nature. In some manuscripts of the work the text is found in an exceptionally modified form. It will be interesting to compare the probable original text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (reconstructed on the basis of Manuscript G and the *Annadāmaṅgala*) with the late modification in Manuscript H both quoted in Appendix I (A and B).

*The List of Pīthas in the Pīṭhanirṇaya (Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa).*

Reserving for the foot-notes on the text discussion on the discrepancies as regards the names of the Pīthas, the Pīṭha-devatās (forms of the Devī), the Kṣetrādhīśas (Bhairavas) and the Devī's *aṅga-pratyāṅga* (limbs including ornaments, etc.), the descriptive list supplied by the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahā-pīṭhanirūpaṇa*) may be offered in a tabular form.

Number	Pīṭha	Aṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
1.	Hiṅgulā Hiṅgulāṭa	Brahmarandhra	Koṭṭarī Koṭṭavī Koṭṭarīśā	Bhīmalocana
2.	Karavīra Śarkarāra	Trinetra	Mahīśamardini	Krodhīśa Krodheśa
3.	Sugandhā	Nāsikā	Sunandā Sugandhā	Tryambaka
4.	Kāśmīra	Kanṭha	Mahāmāyā	Trisandhyeś- vara Trinetreśvara Unmatta
5.	Jvālāmukhī	Jihvā	Siddhidā Ambikā	
6.	Jālandhara	Stan-	Tripuramālīni Tripuranāśini	Bhīṣaṇa Īśāna
7.	Vaidyanātha	Hṛdaya	Jayadurgā	Vaidyanātha
8.	Nepālā	Jānu	Mahāmāyā	Kapālī
9.	Mānasa Mālava	Dakṣiṇa-hasta	Dākṣāyaṇī	Hara Hari Amara
10.	Virajāksetra in Utkala	Nābhi	Vimalā Vijayā	Jagannātha Jaya
11.	Gaṇḍakī Gaṇḍaka	Gaṇḍa	Gaṇḍakī Caṇḍī	Cakrapāni Jagannātha
12.	Bahulā Bāhulā	Vāma-bāhu	Bahulā Bāhulā	Bhīruka
13.	Ujjayinī Ujānī Ujjani Urjani Urjayinī	Kūrpara	Maṅgalā Maṅgalacaṇḍī	Tivraka Kapilāmbara Kapileśvara



<i>Number</i>	<i>Piṭha</i>	<i>Āṅga-pratyāṅga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
14.	Caṭṭala (Candraśekhara)	Dakṣiṇa-bāhu	Bhavānī	Candraśekhara
15.	Tripurā	Dakṣiṇa-pāda	Tripurā Tripurasundarī	Nala Tripureśa Tripurākṣa
16.	Trisrotā (Sans. <i>Trisrotas</i> ) Tiroṭā	Vāma-pāda	Bhrāmari Amari	Īśvara Ambara Amara
17.	Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa (Ten Piṭhas were originally located here)	Mahāmudrā (Yoni)	Kāmākhyā	Umānanda Śivānanda Rāmānanda Rāvānanda
18.	Yugādyā (Kṣīragrāma)	Dakṣiṇa-pādān- guṣṭha	Yugādyā (Yogādyā)	Kṣīrakhaṇḍa Kṣīrakhaṇṭha
19.	Kālīpiṭha Kālapīṭha (Kaliḥat)	Dakṣiṇa-pādān- guli	Kālī	Nakuleśa Nakulīśa Naliśa
20.	Prayāga	Hast-āṅguli	Lalitā	Bhava
21.	Jayantī Jayantā	Vāma-jaṅghā	Jayantī	Kramadīśvara
22.	Kirīṭa Kirīṭakoṇā	Kirīṭa	Bhuvaneśī Vimalā	Siddhirūpa Saṃvarta
23.	Maṇikarnikā at Vārāṇasi	Kuṇḍala	Viśālākṣī	Kāla
24.	Kanyāśrama (see p. 37, note 1)	Prṣṭha	Sarvāṇī	Nimiśa
25.	Kuruksetra	Dṛṣṭi [Dakṣiṇa]-gulpha	Sāvitrī	Sthāṇu Snāyu Sarvānanda
26.	Maṇiveda Maṇivedika Mānavedaka	Maṇibandha	Gāyatrī	
27.	Śrīśaila Śrīhaṭṭa	Grīvā	Mahālakṣmī Mahāmāyā	Samvarānanda Samarānanda Sarvānanda
28.	Kāñci	Kaṅkāla	Devagarbhā	Ruru
29.	Kālamādhava	Nitamba	Kālī	Asitāṅga
30.	Narmadā Śoṇa Śaila	Nitamba	Śoṇā Narmadā	Bhadrasena
31.	Rāmagiri Rājagiri Rāmākiṇī	Stana Nāsā Nalā	Śivānī	Caṇḍa
32.	Vṛndāvana (Umāvana) Keśajāla	Keśa	Umā Kātyāyanī	Bhūteśa Kṛṣṇanātha
33.	Śuci Anala	Ūrdhva-danta	Nārāyaṇī	Samhāra Samkrūra
34.	Pañcasāgara	Adhodanta	Vārāhī	Mahārudra
35.	Karatoyātata	Vāma-karṇa Talpa Gulpha	Aparṇā	Vāmana Vāmeśa

Number	Pīṭha	Āṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
36.	Śrīparvata	Dakṣiṇa-karṇa Talpa [Dakṣiṇa]-gulpha	Sundarī	Sundarānanda Sunandānanda
37.	Vibhāsa	Vāma-gulpha	Bhīmarūpā Kapālīnī	Kapālī Sarvānanda
38.	Prabhāsa	Udara Adhara	Candrabhāgā	Vakratuṇḍa
39.	Bhairavaparvata Bhiruparvata	Ūrdhvoṣṭha Oṣṭha Tuṇḍa	Avantī	Lambakarṇa Namrakarṇa
40.	Janasthāna Jala-sthala	Civuka	Bhrāmārī	Vikṛta Vikṛtākṣa
41.	Godāvaritīra	[Vāma]-gaṇḍa	Viśveśī Rākīṇī	Viśveśa Daṇḍapāṇī Vatsanābha
42.	Ratnāvalī Ratnavatī	Dakṣiṇa-skandha	Kumārī Śivā	Śiva Kumāra
43.	Mithilā	Vāma-skandha	Umā Mahādevī	Mahodara

(The following Pīṭhas were omitted in the original text which located ten Pīṭhas in Kāmarūpa.)

Number	Pīṭha	Āṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
44.	Nalāhāṭī	Nalā	Kālī	Yogīśa Yogeśa
45.	Kālighāṭa (Kālīpīṭha)	Muṇḍa	Jayadurgā	Krodhīśa Krodheśa
46.	Vakreśvara	Manas	Mahīsamardīnī	Vakranāṭha
47.	Yaśora	Pāṇī	Yaśoreśvarī	Caṇḍa Caṇḍeśa
48.	Aṭṭahāsa	Oṣṭha	Phullarā	Viśveśa
49.	Nandipura	Hāra	Nandīnī	Nandikeśvara
50.	Laṅkā	Nūpura	Indrākṣī	Rākṣaseśvara Nandikeśvara
51.	Virāṭa	Padāṅguli	Ambikā	Amṛta Amṛtākṣa <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Manibandha, a name created out of a confused text, and for Magadha and Karṇāṭa, interpolated by later modifiers of the text who could not make out 51 names from the text before them, see foot-notes on the text. Bhāratacandra omitted the last eight names together with Vārāṇasī and Kanyāśrama but recognized the fictitious Manibandha, while our G text omits only the last eight names and thus makes the number of Pīṭhas 52 (with Vārāṇasī and Kanyāśrama and with the extra nine Pīṭhas located at Kāmarūpa). It seems that the original text made a reference either to Kanyāśrama, or to Vārāṇasī. The fifth Paṭala of the late *Bṛhan-Nīlataṇtra* contains no less than five lists of Pīṭhas. Four out of them together with another from the sixth Paṭala of the same Tantra have already been quoted (see above, pp. 21, note 1; 25, note 3; 23, note 2). A list like the following one quoted from the *Bṛhan-Nīla* may be regarded as the source of the belief, prevalent in some parts of Bengal, that the number of Pīṭhas is fifty-two (cf. our G text enumerating fifty-two Pīṭhas owing to confusion).

कामेश कामरूपे त्वं पूर्वा काश्यां विस्तृतिदः  
नेपाले पुण्ड्रः पुष्पा सुवेशा पौण्ड्रवर्धने ॥



*Modification of the Pīṭhanirṇaya (Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa) in the Śivacarita.*

An attempt was made to utilize and improve upon the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya (Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa)* by the author of the *Śivacarita* which

धर्मबुद्धिः सुधा चैव सुखदा पापमोचनी ।  
 पारस्ये परमानन्दा ब्रह्माणी कान्यकुलके ॥  
 पुष्पाद्रौ च मङ्गापुष्पा पूर्णा यज्ञफलेश्वरी ।  
 कात्यायन्यर्बुदे देवि धनदा शिववस्त्रभा ॥  
 एका चैकाग्रके देशे सुरूपे प्राचकेश्वरे ।  
 त्रिपुरे सुन्दरी दिव्यरूपाखिलमनोहरा ॥  
 कामकोटे मङ्गापीठे प्रमदा मदनालसा ।  
 कामेश्वरी रतिचैव भृगुपुर्यां व्रजेश्वरी ॥  
 ब्रह्मेशा च तपोलक्ष्मीः कैलासे भुवनेश्वरी ।  
 केदार वरदा चैवास्तता चन्द्रपुरे सिता ॥  
 कलावती प्रमेशा च श्रीपुरे श्रीरमा प्रिया ।  
 कुमारौ ब्रह्मचर्या च कन्या च कन्यकापुरे ॥  
 जालन्धरे मङ्गापीठे नागर्याग्निमुखी शुभा ।  
 न्यालामुखी लोलजिह्वा सुवेशा च सुरङ्गिणी ॥  
 मालवे च मङ्गाविद्या विल्वपीठे च रूपिणी ।  
 रूपवती मङ्गादेवी देवीकोटेऽखिलेश्वरी ॥  
 गोकर्णे प्रियपीठे त्वं रुद्राणी सर्वमङ्गला ।  
 पवने हरपीठे च गन्धरी च सुगन्धिका ॥  
 षडङ्गासि मङ्गापीठे भीमकाली च कालिका ।  
 विरजे मुक्तिहेतुश्च नमःस्त्रिस्तम्भधामयी ॥  
 जयन्तीराजलक्ष्मीश्च सुवेशा राजपर्वते ।  
 एलापुरे मङ्गासम्यत् मातेश्वरी मङ्गापथे ।  
 गायत्री ब्रह्मरूपा च तत्पदोद्धारपीठके ।  
 जया जयपुरे देवी जयदा जयमङ्गला ॥  
 विजया मङ्गला गौरी उज्जयिन्यां सदाशिव ।  
 गौरीश्वरी मङ्गादेवी हरिद्रापीठके शिवा ॥  
 चौरपीठे युगाद्या च चौराख्या नियमप्रभा ।  
 राजेश्वरी मङ्गलक्ष्मीर्हस्तिनापुरवासिनी ॥  
 कमला विमला भक्तौ रौद्री च नीलपर्वते ।  
 योगेश्वरी त्रिवेणी च त्रिखोता ब्रह्मरूपिणी ॥  
 सिन्धुखली कामधेनु षष्ठौ षष्ठीपुरे प्रिये ।  
 माया मायापुरे देवी सुरभी सौरभेश्वरी ॥  
 विलासिनी मङ्गानन्दा प्रियचन्दनपर्वते ।  
 मङ्गाव्रजेश्वरी श्रेष्ठा ज्ञानेश्वरपीठके ॥  
 भवानी भवभक्ता च श्रीशैले शिववस्त्रभा ।  
 देवता या स्वर्गलक्ष्मीः कनकासरपर्वते ॥

has been analyzed by N. N. Vasu in the *Viśvakoṣa*, s.v. *pīṭha*. This work supplies a list of 51 Mahā-Pīṭhas (great Pīṭhas) and another of 26 Upa-Pīṭhas (Pīṭhas of lesser importance). Although the word *upapīṭha* is traced in such works as the *Sādhana-mālā* (p. 479), no early lists of the less important Pīṭhas are known to us. The *Śivacarita* closely follows the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* in regard to 41 (actually 42, but the name Maṇibandha is due to textual confusion) out of the 51 great Pīṭhas, the remaining 10 names as given in the latter not being found in that work. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bhāratacandra, who mentions 42 Pīṭhas (including Maṇibandha) by name and locates 10 Pīṭhas at one of them to make the number 51, closely follows in his *Annadāmaṅgala* the readings of the *Śivacarita* in spite of his avowed indebtedness to the *Mantracūḍāmaṇi* (for *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*) *Tantra*. These facts suggest that the original text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* actually but partially followed the *Kubjikā Tantra* in offering only the names of 42 Pīṭhas, while the number of the Pīṭhas was made 51 by locating the ten Mahāvidyās (manifestations of Śakti conceived in imitation of the Daśāvatāra of Viṣṇu) at Kāmarūpa. If such was the case, it is tempting to suggest that some verses containing the names of certain obscure Pīṭhas especially in the concluding part of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* text (cf. verses 48-55) were added to the original text at a later date. They may have been inspired and influenced by the *Śivacarita*. The above suggestion seems to be strongly supported by the fact that verses 48-55 of our *Pīṭhanirṇaya* text containing the names of Nalāhātī, Kālighāta, Vakreśvara, Yaśora, Atṭahāsa, Nandipura, Laṅkā and Virāṭadeśa (including the variants Karpāta and Magadha) are conspicuous by their absence from some manuscripts of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*; cf. our G text.

The evidence of the *Annadāmaṅgala* has been quoted in the foot-notes on the text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, while the descriptive list of the *Śivacarita* is offered below in a tabular form.

*List of the Pīṭhas (Mahāpīṭhas) and Upapīṭhas in the Śivacarita.*

A—Mahāpīṭhas

Number	Pīṭha	Āṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
1.	Hīṅgulā	Brahmarandhra	Koṭṭari	Bhimalocana
2.	Śarkara	Trineta	Mahīsamardini	Krodhīśa
3.	Tārā	Netrāṁśa-tārā	Tārini	Unmatta

उमा गौरी सती सत्या पार्वती क्षिप्रपर्वते ।  
 इन्द्रेश्वरी सुराराध्या माहेन्द्रे जगदीश्वरी ॥  
 शङ्का भोगेश्वरी नित्या श्रीमद्भक्तिपुरे शिवा ।  
 सुवर्णा कनका रामा क्षिरणपुरपौठके ॥  
 महालक्ष्मीसंदेशानौ महालक्ष्मीपुरेऽम्बिका ।  
 चण्डपुरे प्रचण्डा च चण्डा चण्डवती शिवा ॥  
 जम्बे मेघसना चैव मायाक्षेत्रेश्वरी (काया° ?) तथा ।  
 कालीषष्ठे महापौठे काली कालाक्षिका तथा ॥  
 लिङ्गाख्ये भैरवी विद्या विजया आङ्गवौतटे ।  
 इति ते कथितं दिव्यं पौठक्रममुदाहृतम् ॥

It is to be noted that the six lists of Pīṭhas found in the *Bṛhan-Nīlantantra* do not agree fully with one another and are not free from mistakes.



Number	Pīṭha	Aṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
4.	Karatoyātata	Vāma-karṇa	Aparṇā	Vāmeśa
5.	Śrīparvata	Dakṣiṇa-karṇa	Sundarī	Sundarānanda
6.	Sugandhā	Nāsikā	Sunandā	Tryambaka
7.	Vakranātha	Manas	Pāpaharā	Vakranātha
8.	Godāvarī	Vāma-gaṇḍa	Viśvamātrkā	Viśveśa
9.	Gaṇḍakī	Dakṣiṇa-gaṇḍa	Gaṇḍakī	Cakrapāṇi
10.	Anala	Ūrdhva-danta	Nārāyaṇī	Samkrūra
11.	Pañcasāgara	Adho-danta	Vārāhī	Mahārudra
12.	Jvālāmukhī	Jihvā	Ambikā	Vātakeśvara
				Unmatta
13.	Kāśmīra	Kaṇṭha	Mahāmāyā	Trisandhya
14.	Śrīhaṭṭa	Grīvā	Mahālakṣmī	Sarvānanda
15.	Bhairavaparpata	Oṣṭha	Avantī	Namrakarṇa
16.	Prabhāsa	Adhara	Candrabhāgā	Vakratuṇḍa
17.	Prabhāsakhaṇḍa	Marīna	Siddheśvarī	Siddheśvara
18.	Janasthāna	Civuka	Bhrāmārī	Vikrāṭkṣa
19.	Prayāga	Dvi-hast-āṅguli	Kamalā	Veṇimādhava
20.	Mānasa-sarovara	Dakṣiṇa-hastār- dha (Vāma- hasta)	Dākṣāyaṇī	Hara
21.	Catṭagrāma	Dakṣiṇa-hast- ārdha	Bhavānī	Candraśekhara
22.	Mithilā	Vāma-skandha	Mahādevī	Mahodara
23.	Ratnāvalī	Dakṣiṇa-skandha	Śivā	Śiva
				Kumāra
24.	Maṇibandha	Vāma-maṇi- bandha	Gāyatrī	Śaṅkara
				Sarvāṇa
25.	Maṇiveda	Dakṣiṇa-maṇi- bandha	Sāvitrī	Sthānu
26.	Ujānī	Vāma-kaphonī	Maṅgalacaṇḍī	Kapilāmbara
27.	Raṇakhaṇḍa	Dakṣiṇa-kaphonī	Bahulākṣī	Mahākāla
28.	Bahulā	Vāma-bāhu	Bahulā	Bhīruka
29.	Vakreśvara	Dakṣiṇa-bāhu	Vakreśvarī	Vakreśvara
30.	Jālandhara	Vāma-stana	Tripuramālīnī	Bhīṣaṇa
31.	Rāmagiri	Dakṣiṇa-stana	Śivānī	Caṇḍa
32.	Vaivasvata	Prṣṭha	Tripuṭā	Śamanakarman
				Nimiṣa
33.	Vaidyanātha	Hṛdaya	Navadurgā	Vaidyanātha
			Jayadurgā	
34.	Utkala	Nābhi	Vijayā	Jaya
35.	Haridvāra	Jāṭhara	Bhairavī	Vakra
36.	Kōkāmukha	Kōk (Sans. Kukṣī)	Kōkeśvarī	Kōkeśvara
37.	Kāñcī	Kaṅkāla	Vedagarbhā	Ruru
38.	Kālamādhava	Vāma-nitamba	Kālī	Asitāṅga
39.	Narmadā	Dakṣiṇa-nitamba	Śoṇākṣī	Bhadrāsena
40.	Kāmārūpa	Mahāmudrā (Yoni)	Kāmākhyā Nīlapārvatī	Rāvānanda
			Śubhacaṇḍī	Umānanda
41.	Mālava	Vāma-jānu	Caṇḍikā	Tāmra
42.	Trisrotā (Sans. Trisrotas)	Dakṣiṇa-jānu		Sadānanda
43.	Jayantī	Vāma-jāṅghā	Jayantī	Kramadīśvara
44.	Nepālā	Dakṣiṇa-jāṅghā	Mahāmāyā Navadurgā	Kapālī

Number	Pīṭha	Āṅga-pratyāṅga	Devī	Bhairava
45.	Trihuta (Sans. <i>Tirabhukti</i> )	Vāma-pāda	Amarī	Amara
46.	Tripurā	Dakṣiṇa-pāda	Tripurā	Nala
47.	Kṣīragrāma	Dakṣiṇa-pād- āṅguṣṭha	Yogādya	Kṣīrakhaṇḍa
48.	Kālighāṭa	Dakṣiṇa-pād- āṅguli	Kālikā	Nakuleśa
49.	Vibhāsa	Vāma-gulpha	Bhīmarūpā	Kapālī
50.	Kurukṣetra	Dakṣiṇa-gulpha	Samvari Vimalā	Samvarta
51.	Vindhyaśekhara	Vāma-pād- āṅguli	Vindhyaśāsini	Puṇyabhājana

B—*Upapīṭhas*

1.	Kirīṭakoṇā	Kirīṭa	Bhuvaneśī	Kirīṭin
2.	Keśajāla	Keśa	Umā	Bhūteśa
3.	Vārāṇasī	Kuṇḍala	Viśālākṣī	Kālabhairava
			Annapūrnā	Viśveśvara
4.	Uttarā	Vāma-gaṇḍ-āṁśa	Uttariṇī	Utsādana
5.	Nalasthāna	Dakṣiṇa-gaṇḍ- āṁśa	Bhrāmari	Virūpākṣa
6.	Aṭṭahāsa	Oṣṭhāṁśa	Phullarā	Viśvanātha
7.	Samhāra	Dantāṁśa	Śūreśī	Śūreśa
8.	Nilācala	Ucchiṣṭa	Vimalā	Jagannātha
9.	Ayodhyā	Kaṇṭha-hāra	Annapūrnā	Harihara
10.	Nandipura	Hār-āṁśa	Nandini	Nandiśvara
11.	Śrīśaila	Grīva-āṁśa	Sarveśvari	Carcitānanda
12.	Kālīpīṭha	Śiromaśa	Caṇḍeśvari	Caṇḍeśvara
13.	Cakradvīpa	Astra	Cakradhāriṇī	Śūlapāṇi
14.	Yaśora	Pāṇi	Yaśoreśvari	Pracaṇḍa
15.	Saticala	Karāṁśa	Sunandā	Sunanda
16.	Vṛndāvana	Skandhāṁśa	Kumārī	Kumāra
17.	Gaurīśekhara	Vasā	Yugādya	Bhīma
18.	Nalāhāṭī	Śīrānālī	Śephalikā	Yogīśa
19.	Śarvasaila	Kakṣāṁśa	Viśvamātā	Daṇḍapāṇi
20.	Śoṇa	Nitambāṁśa	Bhadra	Bhadreśvara
21.	Trisrotā (cf. p. 40, No. 42)	Pādāṁśa	Pārvati	Īśvara
22.	Laṅkā	Nūpura	Indrākṣī	Rākṣaseśvara
23.	Kaṭaka	Carmāṁśa	Kaṭakeśvari	Vāmadeva
24.	Puṇḍra	Loma	Sarvākṣiṇī	Sarva
25.	Tailaṅga	Lomakhaṇḍa	Caṇḍadāyikā	Caṇḍeśa
26.	Svetabandha	Bhagnāṁśa	Jayā	Mahābhīma <sup>1</sup>

*Materials utilized in the Present Edition of the Pīṭhanirṇaya*  
(*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*).

The subjoined text of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) is based upon the following sources.

A—Manuscript No. 196, entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (and probably also *Mahāpīṭhalakṣaṇa*), in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> I have failed to secure and examine any copy of the *Sivacarita*.



- B—Manuscript No. 3400, entitled *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- C—Manuscript No. 5303, entitled *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- D—Text entitled *Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*, quoted from the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi Tantra*, Vasumatī ed., pp. 234ff.
- E—Text entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, quoted from the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *pīṭha*.
- F—Text quoted in the *Vācaspatya* by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, s.v. *pīṭha*.
- G—Manuscript entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in the Collection of Mr. S. K. Saraswati of the Calcutta University. This manuscript, collected from Rajshahi, was copied about the second quarter of the eighteenth century.
- H—Manuscript No. 10863, entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in the Indian Museum Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. As the text found in this manuscript has wide variations it has been quoted in Appendix I—B. Cf. this text with that of the *Śivacarita*.
- I—Manuscript No. 402 (Sanskrit), entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in the Collection of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta; copied on the 14th Bhādra, Śaka 1760 (1838 A.D.) and B.S. 1245.
- AM—The Bengali version of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*) in the Pīṭhamālā section of the *Annadāmaṅgala* by Bhāratacandra, Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 43–47.

*Text of the Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa.*

## पौठनिर्णयः (महापौठनिरूपणम्)<sup>1</sup>

[Sections within square brackets are due to later modifications of the text. They have either to be omitted or to be corrected according to indications given in the foot-notes. Vide Appendix I.]

ईश्वर उवाच ।<sup>2</sup>

मातः परात्परे देवि सर्वज्ञानमयीश्वरि ।

कथ्यतां मे सर्वपौठशक्तिभैरवदेवताः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १ ॥

<sup>1</sup> The section is styled पौठनिर्णयः in AEGHI; but महापौठनिरूपणं in BCD. The expression महापौठनिरूपणं also occurs in A.

<sup>2</sup> A—अथ महापौठनिरूपणम् ॥ श्रीईश्वर उवाच ॥ B—श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ श्रीईश्वर उवाच ॥ CD—तन्त्रचूडामणौ (चन्द्रचूडामणौ in C) महापौठनिरूपणं यथा । ईश्वर उवाच । E—ईश्वर उवाच । G—श्रीदेवि । ईश्वर उवाच । H—ॐ नमो भगवत्यै । उक्तं भावचूडामणौ । अथ पौठनिर्णयः । I—ॐ नमः शिवाय । ईश्वर उवाच । Reference to the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* is found in the colophon of ABEI.

<sup>3</sup> BCDE—शक्तिभैरव°

देव्युवाच ।<sup>1</sup>

प्रदणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दंयाल भक्तवत्सल ।

याभिर्विना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २ ॥

पञ्चाशदेकपीठानि एवं भैरवदेवताः<sup>3</sup> ।

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रक्षतेन च<sup>4</sup> ।

समाद्यवपुषो<sup>5</sup> देव हिताय त्वयि कथ्यते ॥ ३ ॥

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलायां<sup>6</sup> भैरवो भीमलोचनः ।

कोट्टरी<sup>7</sup> सा महादेव त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरौ ॥ ४ ॥

<sup>1</sup> A—यौपार्युवाच ; G—यौदेव्युवाच ।

<sup>2</sup> ABDEL—नत्क्रियाः ; G—मन्त्रसाधनतत्क्रियाः ; I—यासां विना ।

<sup>3</sup> A—एकपञ्चाशत् पीठं शक्तिभैरवदेवताः ; BCD—एकपञ्चाशत् पीठं शक्तिभैरवदेवताः ;

F—एकपञ्चाशच्च पीठाः शक्तिभैरवदेवताः । I—पञ्चाशदेकपीठञ्च ।

AM— तथाय सतीर देह गिया चक्रपाणि ।

काटिलेन चक्रधारे करि खानि खानि ॥

येखाने येखाने षड् पङ्क्ति सतीर ।

सच्चापीठ सेइ स्थान पूजित विधिर ॥

करिया एकाद्र षष्ठ काटिला केशव ।

विधाता पूजिला भव इइला भैरव ॥

Although AM refers to 51 Pīthas, it actually speaks of 42 and omits Vārāṇasī, Kanyāśrama, Nalāhātī, Kālīpītha or Karpāṭa, Vakreśvara, Aṭṭahāsa, Yaśora (Jessore), Virāṭa-deśa, Nandipura and Laṅkā. This is because AM locates ten Pīthas (associated with the ten fingers of Sati's hands) at Prayāga. AM's readings in most cases tally with those of the *S'ivacarita*. Our G text omits all the extra names excepting Vārāṇasī and Kanyāśrama, while AM's original suggested Maṇibandha instead. The original text seems to have had 42 names (with 10 Pīthas located in Kāmarūpa) including either Vārāṇasī or Kanyāśrama.

<sup>4</sup> च is omitted in AC. G—हरिचक्र<sup>0</sup> ।

<sup>5</sup> A—समान्यवपुषो ; B—[समा]द्यवपुषा ; CDE—समान्यवपुषो ; F—समास्य वपुषो ; G—

समास्य वपुषो देव हितायामररत्नसाम् ; I—सामान्यवपुषो देव हिताय देवरत्नसाम् ।

<sup>6</sup> I—हिङ्गुलाटे ।

<sup>7</sup> AGI—कोट्टरी सा महादेवी ; B—क[ट्टरी] सा महादेवी त्रिगुणा च ; C—कोट्टरीशा महादेवी ; D—कोट्टरी सा महादेव ; E—कोट्टरी सा महासाया ; F—कोट्टरीशा महादेव ।

AM— हिङ्गुलाय ब्रह्मरन्ध्रे फेलिल केशव ।

देवता कोट्टरी भीमलोचन भैरव ॥

The words *Koṭarī*, *Koṭavī* and *Koṭṭavī* are found in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a naked woman'; cf. *digambarī* (naked) as an epithet of the Indian mother-goddess. Hīṅgulā is modern Hinglaj (lat. 25° N., long. 65° E.) in Baluchistan. The goddess is locally known as Bibī Nāni, probably the same as Nāṇa known from the Kuṣāṇa coins. Nāna was the great mother-goddess worshipped in wide regions of Western and Central Asia.



करवीरे<sup>१</sup> चिनेचं मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ।

क्रोधीशो<sup>२</sup> भैरवस्तत्र

सुगन्धायास्तु नासिका<sup>३</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

देवस्त्यम्बकनामा च सुगन्दा तत्र देवता ॥ ६ ॥

काश्मीरे कण्ठदेशस्तु<sup>४</sup> त्रिसन्धेश्वरभैरवः ।

महामाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥ ७ ॥

ज्वालामुखां तथा जिह्वा<sup>५</sup> देव उन्मत्तभैरवः ।

अम्बिका सिद्धिदा नाम्नी (देवी)<sup>६</sup>

स्तनं<sup>७</sup> जालम्बरे मम ॥ ८ ॥

<sup>१</sup> D (v.l.) EGI—शर्करारे ।

AM— शर्करारे तत्र चक्षु त्रिगुणभैरव (वैभव) ।

महिषमर्दिनी देवी क्रोधीश भैरव ॥

Karavira or Karavirapura is often identified with Śarkarāra which is supposed to be no other than modern Sukkur, the chief city of the District of that name in Sind. According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (chs. 38-39), Karavirapura was the capital of the Brahmāvarta country (Eastern Punjab) and was situated near the river Ṛṣadvatī; but the city is usually identified with Kolhapur (locally called Karvir) in the Bombay Presidency.

<sup>२</sup> ABI—क्रोधीशो ।

<sup>३</sup> GI—सुगन्धा नासिका मम ; I—सुगन्धा तत्र देवता ;

E—क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥

सुगन्धायां नासिका मे देवस्त्यम्बकभैरवः ।

सुन्दरी सा महादेवी सुगन्दा तत्र देवता ॥

The elaboration of the text in E seems to be a later modification of the original.

AM— सुगन्धाय नासिका पङ्क्ति चक्रवर्त्ता ।

चाम्बक भैरव ताहे सुगन्दा देवता ॥

The Pīṭha is located at Shikārpur (about 13 miles to the north of Barisal in the Buckergungē District) on the Sondha (Sugandhā). The temple of Tryambakeśvara stands at Ponābālā-Sāmraīl (about 3 miles to the south of Jhālākāṭī) on the same stream.

<sup>४</sup> B—कण्ठदेशं मे ; I—त्रिनेत्रेश्वरभैरवः ।

AM— काश्मीरेते कण्ठ देवो महामाया ताय ।

त्रिसन्ध-ईश्वर नाम भैरव तथाय ॥

As there is no reference to the celebrated Śāradā (Sardi) and Amaranātha *tīrthas* of Kāśmīr, there seems to be a fantastic element in the description of this Pīṭha.

<sup>५</sup> A—महाजिह्वां देवस्त्यम्बकं ; B—तथा जिह्वा ; CDEF—महाजिह्वा ; G—महाजिह्वा देवतो ; I—महाजिह्वां देव उन्मत्तभैरव ।

<sup>६</sup> A—लक्ष्मीः ।

AM— ज्वालामुखे जिह्वा ताहे अग्नि अनुभव ।

देवीर अम्बिका नाम उन्मत्त भैरव ॥

This seems to suggest the reading अम्बिका सिद्धिदा देवी । Jyālāmukhī (lat. 31° N., long. 76° E.) lies in the Kangra District of the Punjab.

<sup>७</sup> F—स्तनी ।

भौषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमाश्रिनी<sup>1</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

हार्दपीठं<sup>2</sup> वैद्यनाथे वैद्यनाथस्तु भैरवः ।

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या

नेपाले जानु मे शिव<sup>3</sup> ॥ १० ॥

कपाली भैरवः श्रीमान् महाभाया च देवता ॥ ११ ॥

मानसे दत्तहस्तो<sup>4</sup> मे देवी दाक्षायणी हर (हरः) ।

[अमरो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः] ॥ १२ ॥

[उत्कले नाभिदेशस्तु<sup>5</sup> विरजात्तेत्रमुच्यते] ।

विमला सा महादेवी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ॥ १३ ॥

<sup>1</sup> E—त्रिपुरमाश्रिनी; B—ईशानो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरनाश्रिनी ।

AM— जालन्धरे तौचार पड़िल एक स्तन ।

त्रिपुरमाश्रिनी देवी भैरव भौषण ॥

Jalandhara (lat. 31° N., long. 75° E.) is the chief city of the Jullundur District of the East Punjab. But the Pīṭha is located near Jvālmukhī.

<sup>2</sup> ACF—हृदपीठं; B—हृदं पीठं; I—देवताख्या जयदुर्गा ।

AM— वैद्यनाथे हृदय भैरव वैद्यनाथ ।

देवी ताजे जयदुर्गा सर्वसिद्धि साध ।

Vaidyanātha is the same as Deoghar-Vaidyanathdham (lat. 86° E., long. 24° N.) in the Santal Parganas District of Bihar.

<sup>3</sup> DE—जानुनी मम ।

AM— नेपाले दक्षिण जङ्गल कपाली भैरव ।

देवी ताय महाभाया सदा महोत्सव ॥

The non-mention of Paśupatinātha, the most famous deity in Nepal, in this connection seems to expose the imaginary character of the description.

<sup>4</sup> I—<sup>०</sup>हस्तं; ABC—मालवे दत्तहस्तं; F—मालवे; G—दाक्षायणी हरिः ।

AM— चार चर्च डानि हस्त मानसरोवर ।

देवी दाक्षायणी हर भैरव विहरे ॥

AM suggests the reading हरः and the omission of the second half of the verse. The Mānasa lake (lat. 30° N., long. 81° E.), the source of the river Śatadru (Satlej), is in the Himalayas. Since Ujjayinī, a city in Mālava, is separately mentioned (v. 16), मानसे appears to be the reading intended. But nothing can be said definitely as Ujjayinī in this case may actually represent a village of Bengal. It is, however, to be noted that the celebrated god Mahākāla (Śiva) is not mentioned in connection either with Ujjayinī or with Mālava. Mālava is modern Malwa; but the name often indicated East Malwa of which the ancient capital was Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State).

<sup>5</sup> ABCF—नाभिदेशस्तु; I—<sup>०</sup>देशस्तु ।

G— विरजा चोत्कले छाता नाभिर्म मम(जय ?) भैरवः ।

गण्डका गण्डकी(गण्डकः ?) चण्डी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ॥

Although not free from mistake, this probably points to the original reading of verses 13-14. For elaboration of the earlier text as a later trait, cf. p. 44, note 3.



गण्डका<sup>1</sup> गण्डपातस्थ तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः ।

तत्र सा<sup>2</sup> गण्डकी चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरवः ॥ १४ ॥ ]

बङ्गलायां वामबाङ्गबङ्गलाख्या च देवता ।

भौसको भैरवस्तत्र<sup>3</sup> सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ १५ ॥

उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्च<sup>4</sup> माङ्गल्य-कपिलाम्बरः (मङ्गला कपिलाम्बरः) ॥

[भैरवः सिद्धिदः साक्षादेवौ मङ्गलचण्डिका] ॥ १६ ॥

AM— उक्तले पङ्क्ति नाभि मोक्ष याज्ञा सेवि ।

जय नामे भैरव विजया नामे देवो ॥

AM suggests the reading विजया सा सदादेवौ जयनामा तु भैरवः । or

विजया चोक्तले प्लाता नाभिर्मे जयभैरवः ॥

Virajā or Virajākṣetra is identical with modern Jāipur (lat. 20° N., long. 86° E.) in the Cuttack District of Orissa.

Cf. ततो वैतरणीं गच्छेत् सर्वपापप्रमोचनीम् ।

विरजं तीर्थमासाद्य विराजति यथा शशौ ॥

(सदाभारत ११५५।६)

The name of the Bhairava in the modified text is apparently borrowed from the god Jagannātha at Puri and probably hints at an attempt of claiming that deity to be a manifestation of Śiva.

1 B—गण्डके गण्डपातस्थ; E—गण्डपातस्थ; I—गण्डकां गण्डकी चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरवः ।

AM— गण्डकीते ज्ञानि गण्ड पदे चक्रपाय ।

चक्रपाणि भैरव गण्डकी चण्डी ताथ ॥

This suggests the reading गण्डकां दक्षगण्डस्थ । The Gaṇḍaki (modern Gandak) is a tributary of the Ganges and meets the latter river near Bakhtyarpur in Bihar. The Pīṭha has been located at Sālagrāma at the source of the Gandak.

2 A—सा तत्र ।

3 I—बाङ्गलायां; तीवको भैरवो देवः; D—भैरवो देवः ।

AM— बाङ्गलाय वामबाङ्ग फेलिला केशव ।

बाङ्गला चण्डिका ताते भौसक भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading बाङ्गलायां वामबाङ्गबाङ्गलाप्ला । The Pīṭha is located at Ketugrāma near Katwa in the Burdwan District.

4 A—उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्चैव; B—उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्चापि; G—उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्च माङ्गले (चङ्गला ?);

I—तज्जयिन्यां च कूर्परं माङ्गले कपिलेश्वर ।

AM— उज्जानीते कफोनि मङ्गलचण्डी देवी ।

भैरव कपिलाम्बर ग्राम यंदे सेवि ॥

AM seems to refer to Ujāni or Kogrām in the Burdwan District of Bengal, although Ujjayini (modern Ujjain) in the early lists of Pīṭhas must be identified with the famous city in Avanti or West Mālava, now lying in the Gwalior State in Western India. Note that the name of the Bhairava is not Mahākāla who is known to have been the tutelary deity of Ujjayini. The 12 *gyotirlingas* as enumerated in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (I, 38, 17–20) are Somanātha in Saurāstra, Mallikārjuna on the Śrīśaila, Mahākāla at Ujjayini, Ōṅkāra at Amareśvara, Kedāra in the Himalayas, Bhīmaśaṅkara at Dākini

चटुले दक्षबाज्जर्मे भैरवश्चन्द्रशेखरः ।

व्यक्तरूपा भगवती भवानी यत्र<sup>1</sup> देवता ।

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ॥ १७ ॥

त्रिपुरायां दक्षपादो देवी त्रिपुरसुन्दरी (देवता त्रिपुरा नलः)<sup>2</sup> ।

[भैरवस्त्रिपुरेश्वर<sup>3</sup> सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायकः<sup>4</sup>] ॥ १८ ॥

त्रिखोतायां वामपादो आभरी भैरवेश्वरः<sup>5</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

योगिपीठं कामगिरौ<sup>6</sup> कामाख्या तत्र देवता ।

यत्रास्ते त्रिगुणातीता रक्तपाषाणरूपिणी<sup>7</sup> ॥ २० ॥

(at the source of the Bhīmā north-west of Poona), Viśveśvara at Vārāṇasī, Tryambaka on the bank of the Gautamī (Godāvari) near Nasik, Vaidyanātha at Citābhūmī (Deoghar-Baidyanathdham in the Santal Parganas), Nāgeśa at Dārūkāvāṇa (Aundh ?), Rāmeśvara at Setubandha, and Gṛīṣṇeśa (Ghuśrīṇeśa, Ghuśmeśa) at Śivālaya (Ellora near Daulatabad). The original reading of the passage may have been उज्जयिन्यां कूर्परश्च सङ्ख्या कपिलान्वरः with the second line of the verse omitted. Cf. pp. 44, note 3; 45, note 5.

<sup>1</sup> BDEFI—तत्र ।

AM— चटुप्राये डानिदस्य षड् भुभुव ।

भवानी देवता चन्द्रशेखर भैरव ॥

The Pīṭha is located at the Sitākunḍa on the Chandranath hill in the Chittagong District of East Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> D (v.l.) E—देवता त्रिपुरा मता; G—देवता त्रिपुरा नलः ।

AM— दक्षिण चरखानि पङ्के त्रिपुराय ।

नल नामे भैरव त्रिपुरा देवी ताय ॥

The original reading was apparently त्रिपुरायां दक्षपादो देवता त्रिपुरा नलः with the second line of the verse omitted (cf. p. 46, note 4). The Pīṭha is located at Radhakishorepur (old Rāṅgāmāṭī or Udaypur) in the Tripurā (Hill Tipperah) State in Bengal. The city of Tripura or Tripurī, mentioned in early literature, has, however, to be identified with modern Tewar near Jubbulpur in the Central Province. The temple of the goddess at Radhakishorepur was built by king Dharmamānikya in Śaka 1423 (1501 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> A—°स्त्रिपुराश्च । See the *Śivacarita*, AM, and the G text which speak of the Bhairava as Nala (cf. note 2 above).

<sup>4</sup> E—°फलप्रदः ।

<sup>5</sup> DEG—भैरवोऽम्बरः; I—भैरवान्वरः ।

AM— तिरोताय पङ्के वामपद मनीश्वर ।

अमरी देवता ताडे भैरव अम्बर ॥

AM suggests the reading तिरोतायां वामपादस्यामरी भैरवोऽम्बरः । It is interesting to note that the word *tīrotā* stands for Sanskrit *strī* in the Assamese language. But AM here follows the *Śivacarita* passage referring to *Trihuta* (Sans. *Tirabhukti*), modern Tirhut or North Bihar. *Trisrotā* is of course the modern Tista, a tributary of the Brahmaputra or Yamunā. The Pīṭha is located at Sālābāri in the Jalpaiguri District.

<sup>6</sup> G—कामरूपे ।

<sup>7</sup> AG—यन्त्रा (I—यन्त्र°) पाषाण°; G—°ज्जिवानन्दोऽय भैरवः; तस्याग्नीलाचलो यत्र; I—°मात्तात् उमानन्दाय; भस्माचलो भवेद्यत्र ।

AM— सङ्ग्रामद्रा कामरूपे रज्जोयोग याय ।

रामानन्द (v.l. रावा°) भैरव कामाख्या देवी ताय ।



यत्रास्ते माधवः साक्षादुमानन्दोऽथ भैरवः ।

सर्वदा विहरेद्देवी तत्र मुक्तिर्न संशयः ॥ २१ ॥

तत्र श्रीभैरवी देवी तत्र च क्षेत्रदेवता<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रचण्डचण्डिका तत्र मातङ्गी त्रिपुरात्मिका<sup>2</sup> ।

वगला कमला तत्र भुवनेश्वी सधूमिनी<sup>3</sup> ॥ २२ ॥

AM suggests the reading साक्षाद् रामानन्दोऽथ or साक्षाद् रावानन्दोऽथ । The Kāmarūpa Pīṭha has been located near Gauhati in Assam. The homage paid by certain early rulers of Assam to Kāmeśvara and Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) seems to point to the old name of the Bhairava at the Kāmarūpa Pīṭha.

<sup>1</sup> ABCE—नक्षत्रदेवता; D—न क्षेत्रदेवता; GI—यत्र च भैरवी देवी यत्र नक्षत्रदेवता ।

Kāmāgiri in Kāmarūpa is represented as the seat of the ten Mahāvidyās whose names are given as Bhairavī, Kāmākhyā (Kṣetradevatā), Pracandacandikā (i.e. Chinnamastā; cf. *Tantrasāra*, pp. 802ff.), Mātāṅgī, Tripurā, Ambikā, Vagalā, Bhuvaneśī (Bhuvaneśvarī) and Dhūminī (Dhūmāvatī). The usually recognized names of the Mahāvidyās (a late medieval Śākta adaptation of the Daśāvatāra conception) are however Kālī, Tārā, Śoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Vagalā, Mātāṅgī and Kamalā (the *Bṛhadharma P.*, II, 6, 126, having Sundarī for Kamalā and Bagalāmukhī for Bagalā). Cf.

काली तारा सच्चिदा शोडशी भुवनेश्वरी ।

भैरवी क्षिप्रमला च विद्या भूमावती तथा ।

वगला सिद्धविद्या च मातङ्गी कमलात्मिका ॥

referred to the *Cāmūṇḍā Tantra* in the *Sābdakalpadrūma*, s.v., and to the *Muṇḍamālā Tantra* (cf. *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 164) in the *Tantrasāra* (p. 14). Only some of the names are common to the two lists. That, however, there was no unanimity about the names of the ten Mahāvidyās is demonstrated by another list quoted from the *Mālinīvijaya* in the *Tantrasāra* (loc. cit.):

काली नीला सच्चिदुर्गा ललिता क्षिप्रमलका ।

वाग्वादिनी चान्नपूर्णा तथा प्रत्यङ्गिरा पुनः ॥

कामाख्यावासिनी वाला मातङ्गी शैलवासिनी ॥

This list agrees with that of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* in recognizing Kāmākhyāvāsini or Kāmākhyā as one of the ten Mahāvidyās. The name Pracandacandikā, recognized by the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, is found in the following list of the ten Mahāvidyās quoted from the *Tantracintāmaṇi* in *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R.A.S.B., VIII, p. 388: (1) Śyāmā (Kālī), (2) Tārā, (3) Pracandacandikā, (4) Śrī (Kamalā), (5) Bhairavī, (6) Mahālakṣmī, (7) Mātāṅgī, (8) Bhuvaneśvarī, (9) Dhūmāvatī, and (10) Vagalā. An interesting list of the Mahāvidyās in the *Guhyātiguhya Tantra* (*Des. Cat.*, p. 206) identifies the manifestations of the mother-goddess with the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu :

कृष्णवृत्तिः कालिका स्याद् रामशक्तिस्तु तारिणी ।

क्षिप्रमला वृत्तिः स्याद् वामनी भुवनेश्वरी ॥

जामदग्न्याः सुन्दरी स्थानीनी भूमावती भवेत् ।

वाला (वगला ?) कूर्मवृत्तिः स्याद् लक्ष्मभद्रा च भैरवी ॥

सच्चिदात्मनीर्वेद्मो दुर्गा स्यात् कल्किरूपिणी ।

स्वयं भगवती काली कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयं ॥

Cf. Mahālakṣmī and Durgā for Kamalā and Mātāṅgī. The *Tantracintāmaṇi* (*ibid.*, p. 385) also says, कालिकाकृष्णयोस्तारारामयोश्चैकरूपता । The *Muṇḍamālā* list of the Mahāvidyās quoted in the *Tantrasāra* is elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 580) ascribed to the *Viśvasāra* or the *Cāmūṇḍā Tantra*.

<sup>2</sup> ABCE—त्रिपुरात्मिका; G—यत्र मातङ्गी; I—चण्डिका देवी ।

<sup>3</sup> A—सुधामिनी; F—सधूमिनी; G—यत्र भुवनेश्वी सुधूमिनी; I—यत्र; सुधामिनी ।

एतानि परपीठानि<sup>1</sup> शंसन्ति वरभैरवाः<sup>2</sup> ।

[एवं तु<sup>3</sup> देवताः सर्वा एवं तु<sup>4</sup> दश भैरवाः<sup>5</sup> ॥ २३ ॥

सर्वत्र विरला चाहं<sup>6</sup> कामरूपे गृहे गृहे ।

गौरीश्रिखरमाख्यं पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते<sup>7</sup> ॥ २४ ॥

करतोषां समारभ्य<sup>8</sup> यावद्विक्कारवासिनीम्<sup>9</sup> ।

श्रतयोजनविस्तीर्णं<sup>10</sup> त्रिकोणं सर्वसिद्धिदम् ।

देवा मरयामिच्छन्ति<sup>11</sup> किं पुनर्मानवादयः<sup>12</sup> ॥ २५ ॥ ]

भूतधात्री (चौरग्रामे) महाभाया दत्ताकृतं पदो मम<sup>13</sup> ।

युगाद्या सा<sup>14</sup> महाभाया दत्ताकृतं पदो मम ॥ २६ ॥

<sup>1</sup> ACDF—नव°; EGI—वर° ।

<sup>2</sup> ADE—वरभैरव; BF—नवभैरवाः ।

<sup>3</sup> A—ते; DEGI—ता । The whole line is omitted in C.

<sup>4</sup> ADEGI—ते ।

<sup>5</sup> A/C read verse 28 after verse 23. F omits the second line of verse 23 as well as verses 24-25. I reads verse 28 between verses 23 and 24, and verse 25 between verses 27 and 29.

<sup>6</sup> B—देवौ; I—कामरूपे ।

<sup>7</sup> A reads verse 26 after verse 24.

<sup>8</sup> A—समारभ्य; I—समासाद्य ।

<sup>9</sup> I—वासिनी; BDE—यावद्विक्कारवासिनीम् । The seat of Dikkaravāsini is located in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* in the eastern part of Kāmarūpa which is the Gauhati region of Assam. See *supra*, pp. 13, note 1; 17, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> C—विस्तारं ।

<sup>11</sup> A—मिच्छन्ति; I—शरणमिच्छन्ति ।

<sup>12</sup> G—पुनर्मानवादयः । C adds here: इति कामरूपपञ्चाशत्यम् । It is probable that some of the verses in the description of the Kāmarūpa Pīṭha were a later addition. F reads verses 26-27 after verse 28.

<sup>13</sup> AFG—चौरकण्डक; I—चौरखण्डक ।

AM— चौरग्रामे डानिपार अङ्गुलैर्भव ।

युगाद्या देवता चौरखण्डक भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading

चौरग्रामे महादेव भैरवः चौरखण्डकः ।

युगाद्या सा महाभाया दत्ताकृतं पदो मम ॥

The Pīṭha is located at Khiragrām near Katwa in the Burdwan District. Cf. note 14 *infra*. B has for verses 26-27:

भूतधात्री महाभाया वासपदाङ्गुली मम ।

नकुलीशः कालीपीठे दक्षपदाङ्गुली मम ॥

<sup>14</sup> A—युगाद्या सा महाभाया दत्ताकृतपदौ; F—युगाद्या सा महादेव दत्ताकृतः; BCDE—युगाद्यायां महादेव; G—युगाद्या सा महादेवौ दत्ताकृतः; I—महादेवौ दत्ताङ्गुलपदे ।

The *Candimangala* mentions the goddess as Yogādyā and connects Kṣiragrāma with Sati's back. For the goddess Yogādyā at Kṣiragrāma, see also *Des. Cat. Vernacular MSS. in the collection of the R.A.S.B., LX* (Bengali MSS.), pp. 317-18 (Nos. 318, 5372).



नकुलेशः कालीपीठे<sup>1</sup> दत्तपादाङ्गुली च मे<sup>2</sup> ।

<sup>3</sup> [सर्वसिद्धिकरी देवी कालिका तत्र देवता] ॥ २७ ॥

अङ्गुलीरुन्द<sup>4</sup> हस्तस्य प्रयागे ललिता भवः<sup>5</sup> ।

जयन्त्यां वामजङ्घा<sup>6</sup> च जयन्ती क्रमदोश्वरः ॥ २८ ॥

भुवनेशौ सिद्धिरूपा (सिद्धरूपः) किरौटस्या<sup>7</sup> किरौटतः

(किरौटाख्ये किरौटकः) ।

[देवता विमला नाम्नी संवर्त्तो भैरवस्तथा] ॥ २९ ॥

<sup>1</sup> ABDE—कालि°; G—नकुलेशः कालपीठे च ।

AM— कालीघाटे चारिङि अङ्गुलि डानि पार ।

नकुलेश भैरव कालिका देवी तार ॥

G explains कालपीठे as कालीघाटख्याते while AM suggests the reading नकुलेशः कालीघटे । Cf. verse 49 below (p. 56): The Pīṭha is located at Kālīghāṭ in the southern suburb of Calcutta. Cf. the description of the Pīṭha in the *Sivacarita* (p. 41 above). The original text seems to refer to Kālīpīṭha indicating 'the Pīṭha which is the resort of Kālī'. The name of the Pīṭhadevī was possibly not mentioned separately.

<sup>2</sup> ABCDEG—°पादाङ्गुलीषु मे; I—°पादाङ्गुलीषु च ।

<sup>3</sup> This line is omitted in ABCGI. It was interpolated to provide separate mention of the goddess at the Pīṭha.

<sup>4</sup> A—अङ्गुलीरुन्द; B—अङ्गुलीषु तः; F—अङ्गुलीषु च; GI—अङ्गुलीषु च ।

AM— प्रयागेते दुहातेर अङ्गुली सरस ।

तादाते भैरव दश महाविद्या दश ॥

It seems that the manuscript consulted by Bhāratacandra read verses 22-23 after verse 28 and, therefore, the ten Mahāvidyās, associated in the text with Kāmarūpa, were transferred to Prayāga. It was also easy to connect the ten Mahāvidyās with the ten fingers of Sati's hands that are said to have fallen at Prayāga (modern Allahabad). The *Sivacarita* speaks of the Bhairava as Veṇimādhava whose temple stands at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

<sup>5</sup> I—भवेत्; ABC—भव ।

<sup>6</sup> G—°जङ्घा मे; I—जयन्त्यां वामजङ्घायां;

AM— जयन्त्या वामजङ्घा फेलिल केशव ।

जयन्ती देवता क्रमदोश्वर भैरव ॥

The Pīṭha is located at Kalajor-Bāurbhog in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. Gait says (*History of Assam*, p. 268), 'There is a spot in the Faljur Pargana where part of Sati's left leg is said to have fallen, and here human victims were immolated yearly on the ninth day (*mahānavamī*) of the Durgā Pūjā. Similar sacrifices were also offered on special occasions, such as the birth of a son in the royal family, or the fulfilment of some request made to the gods. Frequently the victims were self-chosen, in which case, for some time previous to the sacrifice, they enjoyed the privilege of doing whatever they pleased without let or hindrance. Sometimes, however, the supply of voluntary victims ran short, and then strangers were kidnapped for the purpose from foreign territory.'

<sup>7</sup> AI—किरौटाख्या; B—किरौटस्या किरौटिनो; G—किरौटाख्ये किरौटकः ।

AM— किरौटकोषाय पङ्के किरौट सुरुप ।

भुवनेशौ देवता भैरव सिद्धरूप ॥

AM suggests the reading सिद्धरूपः and the omission of the following line (cf. p. 47, note 2). The Pīṭha is located at Vaṭanagar near Lāibāng in the Murshidabad District.

[वाराणस्यां विशालाक्षी देवता कालभैरवः ।

मणिकर्णौति विख्याता कुण्डलं च मम श्रुतेः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

कन्याश्रमे च<sup>2</sup> पृष्ठं मे<sup>3</sup> निमिषो भैरवस्तथा ।

सर्वाणी देवता तत्र<sup>4</sup>

कुरुक्षेत्रे च गुह्यतः<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३१ ॥

स्थायुर्नाम्ना च सावित्री देवता

मणिवेदके<sup>6</sup> ।

मणिवन्धे<sup>7</sup> च गायत्री सर्वानन्दस्तु भैरवः ॥ ३२ ॥

<sup>1</sup> A—श्रुतेर्मम; G—मणिकर्णिकेति; I—श्रुतिः । E reads verse 29 after this verse. The reference is to Manikarnikā at Benares in U.P. AM substitutes the fictitious Manibandha for Kanyāśrama or Vārāṇasī. Vārāṇasī, not found in the AM, may have been later inserted in the original text (cf. p. 43, note 3). Śiva omits Kanyāśrama and connects Sati's back with Vivasvata.

<sup>2</sup> B—तु । The name of the Pīṭha reminds one of Kanyākubja or Kānyakubja (modern Kanoj) in the United Provinces. But Kanyāśrama was well known to Bengali Tantric writers who located it in Eastern India. In a discussion on the places which are not suitable for *dikṣā* (Tantric initiation), the *Tantrasāra* (Vaṅgavāsi ed., p. 41) quotes the verse

गयार्था भास्करक्षेत्रे विरजे चन्द्रपर्वते ।

चङ्गले च मतङ्गे च तथा कन्याश्रमेषु च ॥

with the following note: भास्करक्षेत्रं दक्षिणदेशे कोष्ठाकं इति प्रसिद्धम् । विरजे विरजक्षेत्रे । चन्द्रपर्वते चन्द्रशेखरपर्वते । चङ्गले चाठगां इति ख्याते । मतङ्गे मतङ्गदेशे । कन्याश्रमश्चन्द्रशेखर-भिरिसमोपवर्तितकुमायाश्रमत्वेन कामरूपे प्रसिद्धः । The location of Kanyāśrama, in the passago, near the Candrasekhara hill and in Kāmarūpa suggests its identification with Kumārīkuṇḍa in the Chittagong District.

<sup>3</sup> AF—मे पृष्ठं; G—दृष्टिर्म; I—पौठं मे निमिषो;

<sup>4</sup> G—चात्र ।

<sup>5</sup> AM— कुरुक्षेत्रे डानि पार गुह्य अनुभव ।

विसला ताद्वाने देवी संवर्त्त भैरव ॥

AM apparently reads the second line of verse 29 after verse 31. The Bhairava Sthāṇu has to be associated with Sthāṇuśivara (modern Thanesar) in the Karnal District of the Punjab.

<sup>6</sup> ABCDI—स्थायुर्नाम्ना च सावित्री अश्वनाथस्तु भैरवः; F—मणिवेदिकदेशतः; G—स्थायुर्नाम्ना सावित्री देवता मानवेदके ।

AM— मणिवेदे मणिवन्ध पङ्क्ति ताद्वार ।

स्थायुर्नाम्ने भैरव सावित्री देवी तार ॥

This is because of the textual confusion referred to in note 5 above.

<sup>7</sup> A—मणिरन्धे; BI—मणिरन्धे; G—मुनिवन्धे ।

AM— मणिवन्धे वाममणिवन्ध अमिराम ।

सर्वानन्द भैरव गायत्री देवी नाम ॥

This is also due to the textual confusion referred to in note 5 above. Manibandha (i.e. wrist) cannot be regarded as the name of a place; cf. the confusion in the *Śivacarita* (p. 40 above).



औशैले (औहट्टे) च मम ग्रीवा मङ्गलक्ष्मीस्तु<sup>1</sup> देवता ।

भैरवः सम्बरानन्दो<sup>2</sup> देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥ ३३ ॥

काञ्चीदेशे च कङ्कालो<sup>3</sup> भैरवो रत्ननामकः ।

देवता देवगर्भाख्या<sup>4</sup>

नितम्बः कालमाधवे<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३४ ॥

भैरवश्चासिताङ्गश्च देवो काली सुसिद्धिदा<sup>6</sup> ।

दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा<sup>7</sup> नमस्कृत्य<sup>8</sup> मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३५ ॥

<sup>9</sup>[कुजवारे भूततिथौ निशार्द्धे यस्तु साधकः ।

गत्वा प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३६ ॥ ]

<sup>1</sup> G—मङ्गलमाया; I—मङ्गलक्ष्मी च ।

<sup>2</sup> E—सम्बरानन्दो; G—कचः स्थितः ।

AM— औहट्टे पङ्क्ति ग्रीवा मङ्गलक्ष्मी देवो ।

सर्वानन्द भैरव वैभव यांदा भवि ॥

AM therefore suggests the readings औहट्टे and सर्वानन्दश्च in places respectively of औशैले and सम्बरानन्दो; cf. *S'ivacurita* (p. 40, Nos. 5, 14). As Śrīparvata, probably identical with Śrīśaila, is separately mentioned in verse 41, the reference in this case may actually be to Śrīhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet) in East Pakistan. The Pīṭha is located at Gotatīkar-Jainpur near Sylhet. The expression देशे देशे is not quite happy.

<sup>3</sup> G—कङ्काली भैरवो रत्ननामकः; I—काञ्चीदेशे च कङ्कालि भैरवो रत्ननामकः ।

<sup>4</sup> A—वेदगर्भाख्या ।

AM— काञ्चीदेशे पङ्क्ति कङ्कालि अभिराम ।

देवगर्भा देवता भैरव रत्न नाम ॥

Kāñci, mentioned in the early lists, certainly stands for modern Conjeevaram in the Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency. The Pīṭha in this case, however, is usually located on the Kopai near Bolpur in the Birbhum District of Bengal.

<sup>5</sup> A—नितम्बं; B—नितम्बं कालमाधवे; I—नितम्बकालिमाधवे ।

AM— नितम्बे चार्द्ध कालमाधवे तद्धार ।

असिताङ्ग भैरव देवता काली तार ॥

<sup>6</sup> E—च सुसिद्धिदा; G—भैरवोऽसिताङ्गश्च ।

<sup>7</sup> A—दृष्टादृष्ट; G—दृष्टादृष्टा ।

<sup>8</sup> ABEGI—मङ्गलदेव ।

<sup>9</sup> This verse is omitted in CF and may be a later interpolation.

श्रीणाख्य<sup>1</sup> भद्रसेनस्तु नर्मदाख्ये<sup>2</sup> नितम्बकः ।

रामगिरौ<sup>3</sup> स्तनान्यच्च<sup>4</sup> शिवानी चण्डभैरवः ॥ ३७ ॥

[वृन्दावने केशजालसुमा<sup>5</sup> नाम्नी च<sup>6</sup> देवता] ।

[भूतेशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः] ॥ ३८ ॥

संचाराख्य<sup>7</sup> ऊर्ध्वदन्तो<sup>8</sup> देवी (°ऽनले) नारायणी शुचौ ।

अधोदन्तो<sup>9</sup> महारुद्रो वाराही पञ्चसागरे ॥ ३९ ॥

<sup>1</sup> AFG—श्रीणाख्ये; I—शैलाख्ये; B—श्रीषभद्रे भद्रसेनो ।

AM— नितम्बेर चार अर्ध पङ्के नर्मदाय ।

भद्रसेन भैरव श्रीणाक्षी देवी ताय ॥

AM suggests the reading श्रीणाक्षी भद्रसेनस्तु । There is some doubt whether the Pīṭha has to be located on the Sone or on the Narmada.

<sup>2</sup> BCD—नर्मदाख्या नितम्बके; F—नर्मदाख्या नितम्बकम्; G—नर्मदाख्ये नितम्बके; I—नर्मदाक्षे नितम्बके ।

<sup>3</sup> B—राजगिरौ; G—रामाकिन्यां; I—रामगिर्यां । Rāmāgiri is modern Ramtek near Nagpur in the Central Province. There is also a tradition identifying Rāmāgiri with the Chitrakūṭa in Bundelkhand.

<sup>4</sup> AB—तथा नासा; CDE—तथा बाला; I—स्तनान्यच्च ।

AM— चार स्तन पङ्के तौर रामगिरि स्थाने ।

शिवानी देवता चण्ड भैरव सेखाने ॥

Note that the nose of Sati is associated in verse 5 (p. 44 above) with Sugandhā.

<sup>5</sup> B—°जालान्; CD—°जाले; EF—°जाले; G—उमानाम्नी केशजाले भूतेशः परभैरवः (with the second line of the verse omitted)

I— वृन्दावने केशजाले कृष्णनाथस्तु भैरवः ।

कात्यायनी तत्र देवी सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ॥

AM— केशजाल नाम स्थाने पङ्के तौर केश ।

उमा नामे देवी ताक्षे भैरव भूतेश ॥

It seems that the original reading was उमावने केशजालं भूतेशः परभैरवः ॥ Umāvana was a name of Devikōṭṭa; cf. style of v. 27 (*supra*, p. 50, notes 1 and 3). AM supports the reading in G. In the modified text there is reference to the fanciful Śākta claim on the celebrated Vaiṣṇava āṛṭha near Mathurā (Muttra) in the United Provinces (cf. Kṛṣṇa referred to in the I text). Keśajāla was sometimes regarded as the name of the Pīṭha owing to confusion; cf. the case of Maṇibandha in verse 32. See the confusion in the *Sivacarita*.

<sup>6</sup> A—नाम्नीति ।

<sup>7</sup> ABI—संचाराख्ये ।

AM— ऊर्ध्व दन्तपतिर अनले चदल धाम ।

संक्रूर भैरव देवी नारायणी नाम ॥

AM suggests the reading संक्रूराख्य ऊर्ध्वदन्तोऽनले । The *Sivacarita* regards *Samhāra* as the name of an Upapīṭha; cf. ABI.

<sup>8</sup> ACFG—ऊर्ध्वदन्ते ।

<sup>9</sup> ACFG—अधोदन्ते ।



करतोयातटे तल्पं (कर्णे) वामे<sup>1</sup> वामनभैरवः ।

अपर्णा देवता यत्र ब्रह्मरूपाकरोद्भवा<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४० ॥

श्रीपर्वते दत्तगुल्फ(कर्ण)स्त्रज<sup>3</sup> श्रीसुन्दरी परा ।

सर्वसिद्धीश्वरी<sup>4</sup> सर्वा सुन्दरानन्दभैरवः<sup>5</sup> ॥ ४१ ॥

कपालिनी (कपाली च) भीमरूपा वामगुल्फो<sup>6</sup> विभाषके ।

<sup>7</sup> [भैरवश्च महादेव सर्वानन्दः शुभप्रदः] ॥ ४२ ॥

AM— पञ्चसागरते पड़े अर्धोदन्सार ।

महाबद्र भैरव वाराही देवी तौर ॥

Pañcasāgara seems to indicate the oceans, the traditional number of which was, however, four or seven. The reference may also be to the five *Kuṇḍas* near Hardwar.

<sup>1</sup> B—तन्यात् वलि°; G—गुल्फं; I—तल्प ।

AM— करतोयातटे पड़े वामकर्ण तौर ।

वामेश भैरव देवी अपर्णा तारार ॥

AM suggests the reading कर्णे वामे वामेशभैरवः । The Karatoyā is a sacred river of northern Bengal. The Pīṭha is located at Bhavānīpur in the Bogra District. G has a note reading भवानोपुरस्थाने ।

<sup>2</sup> A—°करोद्भवः; I—तत्र । The last word of the verse is not quite satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> ACI—गुल्फं; E—तल्प; FG—गुल्फं तत्र ।

AM— श्रीपर्वते ङानि कर्ण फेलिलेन चरि ।

भैरव सुन्दरानन्द देवता सुन्दरी ॥

AM suggests the reading दत्तकर्णसू तत्र । Śrīpārvata is the same as the Śrīsāila in the Nallamalur range to the south of the Krishna. But the non-mention of Mallikārkjuna (Śiva) and of Devī Bhramarāmbā on the Śrīsāila shows that the description is probably fantastic. As two other places are associated with Sati's *gulpha* (verses 31 and 42), AM possibly suggests the correct reading of the verse.

<sup>4</sup> ABGI—°सिद्धेश्वरी; E—°सिद्धिकरी ।

<sup>5</sup> CDF—सुनन्दानन्द° ।

<sup>6</sup> C—गुल्फ; DI—गुल्फे; B—गुल्फा; F—गुल्फविभागतः; G—कपालिनी क्रोधरूपा वामगुल्फे विभाषके ।

AM— विभाषिते वाम गुल्फ फेलिला केशव ।

भीमरूपा देवी ताङ्गे कपाली भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading कपाली च भीमरूपा and the omission of the second line of the verse (cf. p. 50, note 7). The Pīṭha is located near Tamruk in the Midnapur District.

<sup>7</sup> This line is omitted in ABE and may be a later interpolation. Cf. p. 50, notes 3 and 7.

उदरश्च (अधरश्च) प्रभासे मे<sup>1</sup> चन्द्रभागा यशस्विनी ।

वक्रतुण्डो भैरव-

खोर्द्धोष्टो भैरवपर्वते<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४३ ॥

अवन्ती<sup>3</sup> च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ॥ ४४ ॥

चिचुके<sup>4</sup> भामरी देवी विक्तालो<sup>5</sup> जले स्थले (जनस्थाने)<sup>6</sup> ।

गण्डो गोदावरीतीरे विश्वेशी (विश्वेशो) विश्वमाटका<sup>7</sup> ॥ ४५ ॥

1 A—प्रभासे; BCDE—प्रभाषे; G—अधरश्च प्रभाषे मे चन्द्रभागा; I—अधरश्च ।

AM— प्रभासे अधर देवी चन्द्रभागा ताहे ।

वक्रतुण्ड भैरव प्रत्यक्षरूप याहे ॥

AM suggests the reading अधरश्च प्रभाषे; of, verse 52 below. Prabhāsa or Somnath is a famous holy place in southern Kathiawar.

2 B—खोर्द्धो भैरवपर्वते; A—खर्द्धो भैरवपर्वते; G—तुण्ड भैरवपर्वते; I—तुण्डो भैरव<sup>o</sup> ।

AM— भैरव पर्वते खोष्ट पडे चक्रघाय ।

लम्बकर्ण भैरव अवन्ती देवी ताथ ॥

AM suggests the reading लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः । The Devi's name seems to refer the Pīṭha to West Malwa.

3 ABCDEFI—अवन्त्या ।

4 ABC—चिचुके ।

5 ABFG—विक्तालो; I—विक्ताल; C—किकुभाळा; D—किळभाळी । Probably विक्तालो is intended.

6 AM— जनस्थाने चिचुक पडिल अशिरास ।

विक्ताल भैरव भामरी देवी नाम ॥

AM suggests the reading विक्तालो जनस्थाने । Janasthāna, celebrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, lay in the upper Godavari valley in the present Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. CDF read after this verse: भैरवः सर्वसिद्धोऽस्त्वान् सिद्धिरनुत्तमा apparently because the reading विक्तालो invited a name of the Bhairava at the Pīṭha.

7 I—गण्डे;

AM— गोदावरी तीरे पडे नाम गण्डखानि ।

विश्वेश भैरव विश्वमाटका भवानी ॥

AM suggests the reading विश्वेशो विश्वमाटका which shows that verse 46 is probably an interpolation. The reading विश्वेशो necessitated the fabrication of the name of the Bhairava at the Pīṭha. The two lines of verse 46 appear to have been inserted by two different hands. Cf. p. 56, note 8.



[दण्डपाणिभैरवस्तु<sup>1</sup> वामगण्डे तु<sup>2</sup> राक्षिणी ।

<sup>3</sup> भैरवो वत्सनाभस्तु तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ४६ ॥ ]

रत्नावल्यां (रत्नवत्यां) दक्षस्कन्धः कुमारो भैरवः शिवः<sup>5</sup> ।

मिथिलायामुमा देवी<sup>6</sup> वामस्कन्धो<sup>7</sup> महोदरः<sup>8</sup> ॥ ४७ ॥

<sup>9</sup> [नलाहत्यां नलापातो योगीशो<sup>10</sup> भैरवस्तथा ।

तत्र सा कालिका देवी सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिका<sup>11</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥

<sup>12</sup> कालीघाटे मुण्डपातः क्रोधेशो<sup>13</sup> भैरवस्तथा ।

देवता जयदुर्गाया नानाभोगप्रदायिनी ॥ ४९ ॥

<sup>1</sup> A—दण्डपाणि; G—भैरवश्च वामगण्डे च । Rākṣiṇī is the same as Rāṅkiṇī; cf. *supra*, p. 33 and note 1.

<sup>2</sup> I—च । For the right cheek, see verse 14 (p. 46) above.

<sup>3</sup> D(v.l.)E read in place of this line: च्छमायो भैरवो वत्स सर्वशैलात्मकोपरि । The reference to Sarvasāila (literally, all hills) is no doubt fanciful; cf. Pañcasāgara.

<sup>4</sup> B—वत्सनाभश्च तत्र सिद्धिसवाग्रवात्; G—वसामि भैरवो वत्स सर्वशैलात्मकोमिधः (I—<sup>0</sup>जीविषः) ।

<sup>5</sup> G—रत्नवत्यां दक्षस्कन्धः कुमारो भैरवो शिवा । I—रत्नावल्यां दक्षिणस्कन्धः कुमारो भैरवो शिव ।

AM— रत्नावली स्थाने ङानि स्कन्धश्चभिरास ।  
कुमार भैरव ताड्ये देवो शिवा नाम ॥

AM suggests the reading कुमारो भैरवो शिवा as in G. A city called Ratnavatī is mentioned in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*; but probably Khanakul-Krishnanagar, on the river Ratnākara (Kānānadi) in the Hooghly District and famous for its temple of Ghaṇṭeśvara Śiva, is indicated. Cf. also the *Pramodā-tīrtha* at the confluence of the Vāgmatī and the Ratnāvatī in Nepal.

<sup>6</sup> A—नाली; CFI—महादेवी; G—मिथिलायां वामस्कन्धो महादेवो महोदरी ।

AM— मिथिलायां वामस्कन्ध देवो महादेवो ।  
महोदर भैरव सर्वार्थं यरि सेवि ॥

AM supports the reading in G with महोदरः for महोदरी । Mithilā has been identified with Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai.

<sup>7</sup> ABE—स्कन्धो; CFI—स्कन्धे ।

<sup>8</sup> D—महोदरे । I reads after this line भैरवो वत्सनाभस्तु तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः (*vide* verse 46).

<sup>9</sup> The following eight verses are not found in G (and the AM original) and were apparently interpolated.

<sup>10</sup> EI—योगेशो । The Piṭha is located at Nalahati in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. The word *nalā* is a Bengali corruption of Sanskrit *nalaka* (any long bone).

<sup>11</sup> B—तत्र सिद्धिर्न संशयः ।

<sup>12</sup> Verse 49 is omitted in I. DEF have in place of this line: कर्पाटे चैव कर्षो (v.l. कर्षं) मे चमोद (v.l. लमोद) नाम भैरवः । Cf. verse 27 (p. 50) above. This Kālī Piṭha is located at Juranpur near Katwa in the Burdwan District. The Piṭha was not mentioned in the original text.

<sup>13</sup> D (v.l.)—क्रोधेशो; B—क्रोधश्च ।

वक्रेश्वरे मनःपातो वक्रनाथस्तु भैरवः । <sup>1</sup>

नदौ पापहरा तच्च देवौ महिषमर्दिनौ ॥ ५० ॥

यशोरे पाणिपद्मश्च देवता यशोरेश्वरी ।

चण्डश्च <sup>2</sup> भैरवो यच्च तच्च सिद्धिर्न संशयः <sup>3</sup> ॥ ५१ ॥

अट्टहासे चोष्टपातो देवौ सा फुल्लरा स्मृता ।

विश्वेशो <sup>4</sup> भैरवस्तच्च सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायकः ॥ ५२ ॥

हारपातो नन्दिपुरे भैरवो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।

नन्दिनी सा महादेवी तच्च सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् <sup>5</sup> ॥ ५३ ॥

लङ्कायां नूपुरश्चैव भैरवो राक्षसेश्वरः । <sup>6</sup>

इन्द्राक्षी देवता तच्च इन्द्रेयोपासिता पुरा ॥ ५४ ॥

विराटदेशमध्ये तु <sup>7</sup> पादाङ्गुलिनिपातनम् ।

भैरवश्चाष्टताख्यश्च <sup>8</sup> देवौ तत्राम्बिका स्मृता ॥ ५५ ॥ <sup>9</sup> ]

<sup>1</sup> I—सुष्ठपातं । The Pīṭha, which had no mention in the original text, is located near Dubrajpur in the Birbhum District. The *S'vacarita* separately mentions Vakreśvara and Vakranātha, which, however, appear to be the same place.

<sup>2</sup> A—चण्डस्तु; BE—चण्डश्च भैरवस्तच्च; I—चण्डेशो भैरवो देवस्तच्च ।

<sup>3</sup> I—सिद्धिरवाप्नुयात्; BE—तच्च सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात्; CF—यच्च सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् । The Yaśora Pīṭha is located at Śvarīpur (about 25 miles from the Hasanabad Railway Station) in the Khulna District and not actually at Jessore.

<sup>4</sup> C—विश्वेशो । The Pīṭha, which was not mentioned in the original text, is located near Lābhpur in the Birbhum District.

<sup>5</sup> BCDEFI—सिद्धिर्न संशयः । The Pīṭha is located near Sainthia in the Birbhum District.

<sup>6</sup> I—नन्दिकेश्वरः । The name of the Bhairava suggests that this Laṅkā is identical with Ceylon, although the author may have had no knowledge of the Ceylonesse *tīrthas*. Laṅkā (literally, an island) was not referred to in the original text.

<sup>7</sup> A—विराट मध्यदेशे तु; I—°निपातनः । The ancient Virāṭa or Matsya country lay in the Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajputana; but late medieval writers often placed a Virāṭa country in northern Bengal (cf. *I.C.*, VIII, pp. 53-54). This Pīṭha had no place in the original text.

<sup>8</sup> AE—अष्टताख्यः; I—भैरवोऽष्टताख्यः ।

<sup>9</sup> D (v.l.) EF add after this verse:

मगधे (v.l. मागधे) दक्षजङ्गमे वीमकेशस्तु भैरवः ।

सर्वानन्दमयी (v.l. °करी) देवी सर्वकाम (v.l. सर्वानन्द) फलप्रदा ॥

This verse was fabricated by one who could not find out all the 51 Pīṭhas owing to errors in the manuscripts consulted; cf. the case of Karpāta (p. 56, note 12).



एतास्ते कथिताः पुत्र पीठनाथाधिदेवताः<sup>1</sup> ।

क्षेत्राधिपं<sup>2</sup> विना देव पूजयेत् पीठदेवताम्<sup>3</sup> ।

भैरवैर्ऋते सर्वं जपपूजादिसाधनम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ५६ ॥

अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पीठे पीठशक्तिश्च शङ्कर<sup>5</sup> ।

प्राणनाथ न सिध्येत्तु<sup>6</sup> कल्पकोटिजपादिभिः ॥ ५७ ॥

न दिवं परशिश्याय<sup>7</sup> निन्दकाय दुरात्मने ।

शठाय क्रूरकार्वाय<sup>8</sup> दत्वा मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ।

दद्याच्छान्ताय<sup>9</sup> शिष्याय मन्त्रौ मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ॥ ५८ ॥<sup>10</sup>

1 A—पीठनाथादि°; G—एतत्ते कथितं वत्स पीठनाथादि°; I—एतत्ते कथित ।

2 D—क्षेत्राधीशं; G—क्षेत्राधीशं विना यस्तु; I—क्षेत्राधीशं विना देवि ।

3 CDE—पूजयेच्चान्य° ।

4 G—जपपूजादिकं धनम्; I—भैरवे हृदयः सर्वं ।

5 BCDE—पीठं; A—भैरवपीठं; G—पीठं पीठशक्तिः; I—अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पीठं ।

6 A—सिध्यन्ति; B—सिद्धे तु; CEG—सिध्येत; I—सिद्धेत ।

7 A—°शिष्येभ्यो; I—देवा ।

8 B—क्रूरकर्माय; EG—वृक्षकायेदं; I—वृक्षकायेत्वं ।

9 A—दयात् शान्ताय शिष्याय;

EI—दद्यात् शान्ताय शिष्याय नैष्ठिकाय शुचौ प्रिये (I—धिये) ।

साधकाय कुलौनाय मन्त्रौ मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ॥

G supports the reading of E with शिष्याय शान्ताय for शान्ताय शिष्याय and शुचि for शुचौ. Here is an attempt to make a complete verse in the *anushtubh* out of a half verse. Similar cases are also noticed elsewhere in the text. Cf. pp. 44, note 3; 45, note 5, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Colophon: A—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ पावतीशिवसंवादे एकपञ्चाशद्विद्योत्पत्तौ पीठ-निर्णयः समाप्तः; B—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ शिवपार्वतीसंवादे सप्तःपीठनिरूपणं समाप्तं; C—goes on to quote some verses of the *Mahānīlātāntṛa*; E—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ शिवपार्वतीसंवादे एकपञ्चाशद्विद्योत्पत्तौ पीठनिर्णयः समाप्तः । G—इति चन्द्रचूडामणितन्त्रे (cf. p. 42, note 2) पार्वतीशिवसंवादे विद्योत्पत्तौ पीठनिर्णयः समाप्तः । श्रीदुर्गा । श्रीरामानाथशर्मणः पुस्तक-मिदम् । H—इति श्रीभावचूडामणौ षट्कर्मसाधनविधौ पीठनिर्णयः पटलः । I—इति तन्त्रचूडामणौ विद्योत्पत्तौ (विद्या°) पीठनिर्णयं समाप्तं । ॐ नमः परमदेवतायै । शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १७ । ६० (१७६०) सन १२ । ४५ (१२४५) साल तारिख १४ भाद्रपद श्रीकालौनाथदेवशर्मणः स्वाक्षरं पुस्तकञ्च । श्रीश्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः । श्रीश्रीदुर्गा ।

CF. AM— एकमत ना ज्ञय पुराण मत यत ।

आसि कडि मन्त्रचूडामणि नन्त मत ॥

It has been noted above that the *Tripurā Rājamālā* says about a verse of our text: शिववाक्य पीठमाला तन्त्रैर प्रमाण । See p. 4, note 1. Note also that Bhāratacandra was aware of the differences of opinion about the Pīṭhas.

## APPENDIX I

## A

*Probable Original Text of the Pīṭhanirṇaya (Mahāpīṭha-nirūpaṇa) Reconstructed on the Basis of Manuscript G and the Annadāmaṅgala.*

ईश्वर उवाच ।

मातः परात्परे देवि सर्वज्ञानमयौश्वरि ।

कथ्यतां मे सर्वपौठशक्तिभैरवदेवताः ॥ १ ॥

देव्युवाच ।

प्रदणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दयाल भक्तवत्सल ।

याभिर्विना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः ॥ २ ॥

पञ्चाशदेकपौठानि एवं भैरवदेवताः ।

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रदतेन च ॥ ३ ॥

ममाद्यवपुषो देव ह्मिताय त्वयि कथ्यते ।

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं चिज्जुलायां<sup>१</sup> भैरवो भीमलोचनः ॥ ४ ॥

कोट्टरौ सा महादेवौ त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरौ ।

शर्करारे<sup>२</sup> त्रिनेत्रं मे देवौ महिषमर्दिनौ ॥ ५ ॥

क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र

सुगन्धायाश्च<sup>३</sup> नासिका ।

देवस्यम्बकनामा च सुनन्दा तत्र देवता ॥ ६ ॥

काश्मीरे<sup>४</sup> कण्ठदेशश्च त्रिसन्ध्येश्वरभैरवः ।

महामाया भगवतौ गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥ ७ ॥

ज्वालामुखां<sup>५</sup> तथा जिह्वा देव उन्मत्तभैरवः ।

अम्बिका सिद्धिदा देवौ

स्तनं जालन्धरे<sup>६</sup> मम ॥ ८ ॥

भीषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवौ त्रिपरनाशिनी ।

हार्दपौठं वैद्यनाथे<sup>७</sup> वैद्यनाथस्तु भैरवः ॥ ९ ॥

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या

नेपाले<sup>८</sup> जानु मे शिव ।

कपाली भैरवः श्रीमान् महामाया च देवता ॥ १० ॥

मानसे<sup>९</sup> दक्षहस्तो मे देवौ दाक्षायणी ह्ररः ।

विरजा चोत्कले<sup>१०</sup> ख्याता नाभिर्मे जयभैरवः ॥ ११ ॥

गण्डक्यां<sup>११</sup> गण्डकश्चण्डी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ।

बज्रलायां<sup>१२</sup> वामबाज्रबज्रलाख्या च देवता ॥ १२ ॥



भीरुको भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ।

उज्जयिन्यां <sup>१२</sup> कूर्परश्च मङ्गला कपिलाम्बरः ॥ १३ ॥

चट्टले <sup>१४</sup> दत्तावाङ्मर्मे भैरवश्चन्द्रशेखरः ।

व्यक्तरूपा भगवती भवानी तत्र देवता ॥ १४ ॥

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ।

त्रिपुरायां <sup>१५</sup> दत्तापादो देवता त्रिपुरा नलः ॥ १५ ॥

त्रिस्तोतायां <sup>१६</sup> वामपादो भ्रामरी भैरवोम्बरः ।

योनिपीठं कामरूपे <sup>१७-१६</sup> कामाख्या तत्र देवता ॥ १६ ॥

यत्रास्ते त्रिगुणातीता व्यक्ता प्राधाररूपिणौ ।

यत्रास्ते माधवः साक्षाच्छिवानन्दोऽथ भैरवः ॥ १७ ॥

तत्र ओम्भैरवो देवौ तत्र च क्षेत्रदेवता ।

प्रचण्डचण्डिका तत्र मातङ्गी त्रिपुराम्बिका ॥ १८ ॥

वगला कमला तत्र भुवनेश्वरी सधूमिनी ।

एतानि दशपीठानि श्रंसन्ति दशभैरवाः ॥ १९ ॥

क्षौरग्रामे <sup>२०</sup> महादेव भैरवः क्षौरकण्ठकः ।

युगाद्या सा महामाया दत्ताङ्गुलं पदो मम ॥ २० ॥

नकुलीशः कालीपीठे <sup>२०</sup> दत्तापादाङ्गुलीषु मे ।

अङ्गुलीषु च हस्तस्य प्रयागे <sup>२१</sup> ललिता भवः ॥ २१ ॥

जयन्त्यां <sup>२०</sup> वामजङ्घा च जयन्ती क्रमदीश्वरः ।

भुवनेश्वरी सिद्धिरूपः किरौटाख्ये <sup>२१</sup> किरौटकः ॥ २२ ॥

कन्याश्रमे <sup>२२</sup> च एतं मे निमिषो भैरवस्तथा ।

सर्वाङ्गी देवता तत्र

कुरुक्षेत्रे <sup>२३</sup> च गुल्फतः ॥ २३ ॥

स्थायार्णान्ना च सावित्री देवता

मणिवेदके <sup>२४</sup> ।

मणिवन्द्ये च गायत्री सर्वानन्दस्तु भैरवः ॥ २४ ॥

श्रीचट्टे <sup>२५</sup> च मम ग्रीवा महालक्ष्मस्तु देवता ।

भैरवः सम्बरानन्दो देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥ २५ ॥

काञ्चीदेशे <sup>२६</sup> च कङ्कालो भैरवो रुहनामकः ।

देवता देवगर्भाख्या

नितम्बः कालमाधवे <sup>२७</sup> ॥ २६ ॥

भैरवोऽत्रासिताङ्गश्च देवौ कालौ सुसिद्धिदा ।

दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा नमस्कृत्य मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ २७ ॥

श्रोणाख्या भद्रसेनस्तु नर्मदाख्ये ४८ नितम्बकः ।  
 रामगिरौ ४९ स्तनान्यश्च शिवानी चण्डभैरवः ॥ २८ ॥  
 उमावने ४० केशजालं भूतेशः परभैरवः ।  
 संहाराख्य ऊर्ध्वदन्तेऽनले ४१ नारायणी शुचौ ॥ २९ ॥  
 अधोदन्ते महारुद्रो वाराहो पञ्चसागरे ४२ ।  
 कस्तुर्यातटे ४३ कर्णे वामे वामनभैरवः ॥ ३० ॥  
 अपर्णा देवता तत्र ब्रह्मरूपाकरोद्भवा ।  
 श्रीपर्वते ४४ दक्षकर्णस्तत्र श्रीसुन्दरी परा ॥ ३१ ॥  
 सर्वसिद्धीश्वरी देवी सुन्दरागन्दभैरवः ।  
 कपालो च भीमरूपा वामगुह्यो विभावके ४५ ॥ ३२ ॥  
 अधरश्च प्रभासे ४६ मे चन्द्रभागा यशस्विनी ।  
 वक्रतुण्डो भैरवश्च

ओष्ठो भैरवपर्वते ४७ ॥ ३३ ॥

अवन्ती च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ।  
 चिबुके भ्रामरी देवी विह्वताख्यो जनस्थाने ४८ ॥ ३४ ॥  
 गण्डो गोदावरौतौरे ४९ विश्वेशो विश्वमातृका ।  
 रत्नवत्यां ५० दक्षस्तन्यः कुमारो भैरवी शिवा ॥ ३५ ॥  
 मिथिलायां ५१ महादेवी वामस्तन्यो महोदरः ।  
 एतास्ते कथिताः पुत्र पीठनाथाधिदेवताः ॥ ३६ ॥  
 क्षेत्राधीशं विना देव पूजयेत्पीठदेवताम् ।  
 भैरवैर्ह्रियते सर्वं जपपूजादिसाधनम् ॥ ३७ ॥  
 अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पीठे पीठशक्तिश्च शङ्कर ।  
 प्राणनाथ न सिध्येत्तु कल्पकोटिजपादिभिः ॥ ३८ ॥  
 न देयं परशिष्याय निन्दकाय दुरात्मने ।  
 शठाय क्रूरकार्याय दत्त्वा मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ३९ ॥  
 दद्याच्छान्ताय शिष्याय मन्त्री मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ॥ ४० ॥

B

*Modified Text of the Pīṭhanirṇaya as found in Manuscript H (with slight emendation of the faulty language of the original)*

श्रीशिव उवाच ।

षट्कर्मसाधनं देवि कस्मिन् स्थाने प्रशस्तकम् ।  
 मातः परावरे नित्ये सर्वज्ञानमहेश्वरि ॥  
 कथ्यतां मे सर्वपीठं तथा षट्कर्मसाधनम् ।  
 शक्तिभैरवदेव्यश्च साधूनां हितकाम्यया ॥



श्रीदेव्युवाच ।

षट्पण वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दयाल भक्तवत्सल ।  
 याति विना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः ॥  
 पञ्चाशदेकपौठानि चैवं भैरवदेवताः ।  
 प्रधानं पौठकं देव यथा भैरवदेवताः ॥  
 यत्र साधनं प्रशस्तं तथा षट्कर्म भैरव ॥  
 गङ्गाद्याः सततं सर्वाः समुद्राश्च तथा नदाः ।  
 सर्वतौर्यानि सर्वत्र ममाङ्गे षट्पण भैरव ॥  
 अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रक्षतेन च ।  
 ममास्य वपुषो देव हिताय च नृणां षट्पण ॥  
 ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलायां भैरवो भौमलोचनः ।  
 कुटुबी सा महाकाली त्रिगुणा या दिग्गम्भी ॥  
 शङ्कर्यां दक्षनेत्रं मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ।  
 क्रोधीशो भैरवस्तत्र सुगन्धनामकाननः ॥  
 ताराद्यायां वामनेत्रं ताराख्या तारिणी परा ।  
 उन्मत्तो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वलक्षणासंयुतः ॥  
 मानसे दक्षहस्तो मे तत्र दाक्षायणी हरः ॥  
 विजये उल्लाले ख्याते नाभिर्मे व्यम्बभैरवः ।  
 सोऽयश्च सिद्धिदः साक्षाद् देवी मङ्गलचण्डिका ॥  
 सदाने दक्षकूर्पं(?) मे भैरवश्चण्डसंज्ञकः ।  
 व्यक्तरूपा भगवती भवानौ यत्र देवता ॥  
 सुगन्ध (?) नासिका यत्र देवस्त्यम्बकभैरवः ।  
 आनन्दा देवता तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ॥  
 काश्मीरे कण्ठदेशश्च त्रिसन्ध्येश्वरभैरवः ।  
 महाभाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥  
 ज्वालामुखां तथा जिह्वा भैरवो वटकेश्वरः ।  
 अम्बिका सिद्धिदा नाभौ स्तने जालन्धरे मम ॥  
 भौषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमालिनी ॥  
 वामस्तनं वक्रकेश्वरे भैरवश्चन्द्रशेखरः ।  
 देवता भैरवी तत्र सर्वप्रौढेषु नायिका ॥  
 नासा मे नवखण्डे च वैद्यनाथश्च भैरवः ।  
 देवता दुर्गाख्या च सा सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ॥  
 नेपाले जयदुर्गाख्या तत्र वै तालुकं शिव ।  
 कपालो भैरवस्तत्र महामारी च देवता ॥

विश्वेश्वरः कलिपुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ॥  
 त्रिपुरायां दक्षपादो देवौ त्रिपुरसुन्दरो ।  
 भैरवस्त्रिपुरो देवः सर्वसम्पत्प्रदायकः ॥  
 त्रिखोतायां वामपादो देवता आम्बरौ स्वयम् ।  
 योनिपौठं कामगिरौ कामाख्या देवता स्वयम् ॥  
 यन्त्रास्ते त्रिगुणात्मिका व्यक्तपाशाणरूपिणी ।  
 यत्र श्रीभैरवौ देवौ यत्र नक्षत्रदेवता ॥  
 प्रचण्डचण्डिका चैव मातङ्गी त्रिपुरात्मिका ।  
 वगला कमला तत्र भवानौ हरनायिका ॥  
 महाकालौ स्वयं तत्र भद्रकालौ तथापरा ।  
 सर्वशक्तिः स्वयं तत्र सर्वभैरवदेवताः ॥  
 महाकालः स्वयं तत्र सर्वदेवसमन्वितः ।  
 सर्वत्र विरला चाहं कामरूपे गृहे गृहे ॥  
 एतानि वरपौठानि प्रशंसन्ति च भैरवाः ।  
 एषां ते देवताः सर्वास्तथा क्षेत्राधिदेवताः ॥  
 अङ्गुलीषु च सर्वेषु प्रयागे ललिता स्वयम् ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे तथा देवा भैरवाः पुण्यभाजनाः ।  
 क्षेत्रेश्वरी देवता तत्र सर्वपापविनाशिनौ ॥  
 विन्ध्यशेखरमासाद्य पतिता चाङ्गुली मम ।  
 सर्वेशो भैरवो नामा तत्र तिष्ठति नित्यशः ॥  
 जयन्त्यां वामजङ्घा मे जयन्ती कुमुदश्वरी ।  
 कैके केकिश्वरी देवौ भैरवो रुखनामकः ॥  
 मेखले<sup>1</sup> मेखली देवौ वामाङ्गुली प्रभेदतः ।  
 [तत्र च भैरवश्चण्डनामकः स महाबलः] ॥  
 गौरौशिखरमारुह्य पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ।  
 तत्राहं भवता सार्द्धं वसामि नियतं शिव ॥  
 भूतधात्री महादेवौ भैरवः क्षीरखण्डभाक् ।  
 युगाद्या सा महाविद्या विख्याता भुवनत्रये ॥  
 नकुलीशः कालीघाटे कालिका तत्र देवता ।  
 तत्र मे पतिता वत्स केशा मस्तकसंयुताः ॥

<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to suggest the emendation मेखले referring to the old Mekala country about the Amarkantak hills. But the author may have actually had in his mind Mekhliganj in the Cooh Bihar State in North Bengal. Cf. Mekhlā of the Rudrayāmala list quoted above (p. 18).



करतोयां समारभ्य यावद्विकारवासिनीम् ।  
 प्रतयोजनविस्तोर्णं योनिचक्रं महेश्वर ।  
 देवा मरणाभिच्छन्ति किं पुनर्मानुषादयः ॥  
 भुवनेष्टी सिद्धिरूपा किरौटाख्यायां किरौटिका ।  
 देवेशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वमङ्गलदायकः ॥  
 फुल्लरायामाभरणं देवता विमला च वै ।  
 संवर्त्तो भैरवो देव सर्वदेवनमस्कृतः ॥  
 वाराणस्यां विशालाक्षी देवता कालभैरवः ।  
 तत्र मे पतितं लिङ्गं (?) स्वयमेव सदाशिव ॥  
 मणिकर्णिकेति विख्याता कुण्डले च मम श्रुतेः ॥  
 अयोध्यायाञ्च मे हारो भैरवो हरिहरात्मकः ।  
 तत्र सा देवता पूर्णा मङ्गलक्ष्मीः सुखप्रदा ॥  
 कल्यास्तु मे (कन्याश्रमे ?) कात्यायनी वामदेवश्च भैरवः ।  
 तत्र मे पतितं चर्म नमोषो नाम एव च ॥  
 कुमारी देवता तत्र सर्वाङ्गः सर्व भैरवः ।  
 तत्र मे पतितं रोम तस्माद् भैरवदेवता ॥  
 स्थाननामा च सावित्री देवता मणिवेदका (°वेदके ?) ।  
 मणिवन्द्ये च गायत्री सर्वानन्दश्च भैरवः ॥  
 श्रीशैले च मम ग्रीवा मङ्गलक्ष्मीश्च देवता ।  
 भैरवः संभ्रतानन्दो देशे देशे व्यवस्थितः ॥  
 काञ्चीदेशे च कङ्काली भैरवो मदनः स्वयम् ।  
 तत्र मे पतिते देव नितम्बे देववक्त्रम् ॥  
 देवता वेदगर्भाख्या माधवो भैरवः स्वयम् ।  
 तत्र मे पतिता विद्या तथा च कालमाधवे ॥  
 भैरवः शुङ्गनामा च देवी काली सुसिद्धिदा ।  
 मणिकौपे मङ्गावाहो पतितं मे सुवस्त्रकम् ।  
 दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्वा मङ्गादेव मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
 कुजवारि भूततिथौ निशार्द्धं यस्तु साधकः ।  
 नत्वा प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
 सोमाख्ये भद्रसेनश्च तत्र भद्रा च देवता ।  
 वामपार्श्वे शुभाख्या च नर्त्तकी दण्डभैरवः ॥  
 उमानाक्षी केशपाशे भूतेशः पूर्णभैरवः ।  
 संहाराख्ये चोर्द्धदन्तो देवी नारायणी शुचौ ॥

अधोदन्तो महाब्रह्म वाराही सप्तसागरः (°सागरे ?) <sup>1</sup> ॥  
 कर्तोयातटे प्रस्था तत्र वामनभैरवः ।  
 अपर्णा देवता तत्र सर्वेशो भैरवः स्वयम् ॥  
 श्रीपर्वते त्रूपुरश्च सुन्दरी तत्र देवता ।  
 सुन्दरो भैरवो देव योगिनीवल्लभप्रभुः ॥  
 सिद्धेश्वरी महाविद्या समुद्रो भैरवः स्वयम् ।  
 दन्तावलीषु मे देव जाता भैरवदेवताः ॥  
 प्रभासे घर्म्मकं देव तत्र कपालिनी परा ।  
 भैरवः सर्वदेवश्च सर्वभैरवनायकः ॥  
 गोदावरीमहातीर्थे हरिद्वारे च विभ्यसे ।  
 वज्रेशो भैरवस्तत्र भैरवी देवता स्वयम् ॥  
 व्योळं वैवस्वते तीर्थे हरिता चिपुटा तथा ।  
 भैरवः सोमहन्ता च सर्वदेवी तथापरा ॥  
 चिवुके डामरौ (भामरौ) देवौ विकटाख्या जले खले  
 गण्ड गर्गा सुपर्वा च विश्वेशौ विश्वमातृका ।  
 दण्डपाणिभैरवश्च वामगण्डे च राकिणीः ॥  
 शैलखण्डस्थखण्डे मे सर्वभौतिकदेवताः ।  
 रत्नावल्यां स्नान्दक्षः कुमारो भैरवः स्वयम् ॥  
 देवता च शिवा देवी भैरवश्च स्वयं शिवः ॥  
 मिथिलायां वामदेशे उग्रदेवी महोदरी ।  
 सेतुबन्धे महाभौमो भैरवो देवता जया ।  
 लोमखण्डे च देवप्रस्तैलाङ्गे (तैलाङ्गे ?) चण्डनायिका ॥  
 चण्डेशो भैरवस्तत्र नित्यं तत्र वसाम्यहम् ॥  
 भैरवो दीर्घदर्शो च चक्रपाणिश्च भैरवः ।  
 क्षोत्रवती महादेवी सर्वसम्पत्प्रदायिनी ॥  
 पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि याञ्च भैरवदेवताः ।  
 पर्वतेषु प्रसङ्गानेषु गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥  
 वैष्णवी सा महादेवी माधवो भैरवः स्वयम् ।  
 महाकाचो महायोगो भैरवः सर्वविघ्नहृत् (°हृत्) ॥  
 कलौ नीलाचलक्षेत्रं तथा च भुवनेश्वरः ।  
 विमला विरजा शम्भा जगन्नाथश्च भैरवः ॥  
 तत्र मे पतितं देव उच्छिष्टं शुद्धिता तथा ।  
 भुवनेशो भैरवस्तत्र वसामि च हया सदा (त्वया सह ?) ॥

<sup>1</sup> Note the attempt to correct पश्च into सप्त. See *supra*, p. 53, note 9.



उच्छिष्टचण्डालिनी देवी सर्वघौंठेश्वरी परा ॥  
 चक्रदीपे शूलपाणिर्देवता चक्रधारिणी ।  
 तत्र मे पतितश्चास्त्रं तेन जातो महोरगः ॥  
 एतत्ते कथितं देव पौठनाथादिदेवतम् ॥  
 क्षेत्राघौशं विना देव पूजयेत् पौठदेवताम् ।  
 भैरवैरहितं सर्वं जपसाधनकं क्रियाः (?) ॥  
 अज्ञात्वा भैरवं पौठं शक्तिश्च कुलभैरवम् ।  
 प्राणनाथ न सिध्यन्ति कल्पकोटिजपादिभिः ॥  
 न देयं परश्रिष्याय निन्दिताय दुरात्मने ।  
 श्रुताय वक्षकायाश्च दत्त्वा मृत्युमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
 देयं श्रिष्याय श्रान्ताय नैष्ठिकाय ममाज्ञया ।  
 येषु स्थानेषु देवेश षट्कर्मसाधनं चरेत् ॥  
 साधकाय कुलीनाय मन्त्री मन्त्रार्थसिद्धये ।  
 दद्याच्चैव महादेव अन्यथा पतनं भवेत् ॥

## APPENDIX II

*Puranic Text containing 108 Names of the Mother-goddess.*

### नामाष्टोत्तरशतम्

Mts = Matsya Purāṇa: a Venkatesvara Press ed.; b Ānandāśrama ed.;  
 c Vāṅgavāsī ed. (ch. 13, verses 26-53).  
 DBh = Devībhāgavata, Vāṅgavāsī ed. (Bk. VII, ch. 30, verses 55-83).  
 Pdm = Padma Purāṇa-Srṣṭikhaṇḍa, Vāṅgavāsī ed. (ch. 17, verses 184-211).  
 Skd = Skanda Purāṇa-Āvāntyakhaṇḍa, Vāṅgavāsī ed. (Revākhaṇḍa, ch.  
 98, verses 64-92).

<sup>1</sup> वाराणस्यां विशालाक्षी नैमिषे लिङ्गधारिणी <sup>2</sup> ।

<sup>1</sup> Pdm begins the section with the additional line: सावित्री पुष्करे नाम तीर्थाणां  
 प्रवरे शुभे and reads कर्णिके for पुष्करे in verse 4.

It is interesting to note that a number of the holy places mentioned here are also  
 known from the *Viṣṇusamhitā* (ch. 83) as *tīrthas* suitable for performing funerary rites.  
 The list of 54 in the *Viṣṇusamhitā* includes: Puṣkara, Gayāśīra, Akṣayavata, Amara-  
 kaṇṭaka, Varāhaparvata, Narmadātīra, Yamunātīra, Gaṅgā, Kuśāvarta, Binduka,  
 Nilaparvata, Kanakhala, Kumbhāra, Bhṛgutuṅga, Kedāra, Mahālaya, Nadantikā,  
 Sugandhā, Śākambharī, Phalgutīrtha, Mahāgaṅgā, Trihalikāgrāma, Kumārādhārā,  
 Prabhāsa, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga, Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama, Naimiṣāranya,  
 Vārāṇasī, Agastyāśrama, Kaṇvāśrama, Kauśiki, Sarayūtīra, Sonejyotiṣasaṅgama,  
 Śrīparvata, Kālodaka, Uttaramānasa, Vajravā, Mataṅgavāpī, Saptārṣa, Viṣṇupada,  
 Svargamārgapada, Godāvarī, Gomatī, Vetravatī, Vipāsā, Vitastā, Satadrutīra, Candra-  
 bhāgā, Irāvati, Sindhutīra, Dakṣiṇa-Pañcanada and Ausaja. Cf. the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*  
 lists quoted above, pp. 25, note 3; 28, note 2. Note also the long list of *Pūrtīrthas* or  
*Srāddhatīrthas* in the *Padma Purāṇa*, Srṣṭikhaṇḍa, ch. 11. For an important but later  
 list of Śākta *tīrthas*, see DBh, VII, 38, 5-30.

<sup>2</sup> DBh—गौरीसुखनिवासिनी ।

क्षेत्रे वै नैमिषारण्ये प्रोक्ता सा लिङ्गधारिणी ॥

The elaboration (cf. p. 58, note 9) points to later modification of the original  
 text.

प्रयागे ललिता देवी<sup>1</sup> कामाक्षी<sup>2</sup> गन्धमादने ॥ १ ॥  
 मानसे कुसुदा नाम विश्वकाया तथाम्बरे<sup>3</sup> ।  
 गोमन्ते गोमती नाम मन्दरे कामचारिणी ॥ २ ॥  
 मदोत्कटा चैत्ररथे जयन्ती हस्तिनापुरे<sup>4</sup> ।  
 कान्यकुब्जे तथा गौरौ रम्भा मलयपर्वते<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३ ॥  
 एकाम्बके<sup>6</sup> कौर्त्तिमती विश्वा<sup>7</sup> विश्वेश्वरे<sup>8</sup> विदुः ।  
 पुष्करे पुरुहतेति केदारे मार्गदायिनी<sup>9</sup> ॥ ४ ॥  
 मन्दा<sup>10</sup> हिमवतः पृष्ठे गोकर्णे भद्रकालिका<sup>11</sup> ।  
 स्थाण्वीश्वरे<sup>12</sup> भवानी तु विष्णवे<sup>13</sup> विष्णुपत्निका ॥ ५ ॥  
 श्रीशैले माधवी नाम<sup>14</sup> भद्रा भद्रेश्वरे<sup>15</sup> तथा ।  
 जया वराहशैले तु<sup>16</sup> कमला कमलालये ॥ ६ ॥  
 रुद्रकोट्याच्च<sup>17</sup> रुद्राणी काली कालञ्जरे गिरौ<sup>18</sup> ।  
 महालिङ्गे तु कपिला मर्कटे<sup>20</sup> मुकुटेश्वरी ॥ ७ ॥

<sup>1</sup> DBh—प्रोक्ता ।

<sup>2</sup> DBh—कामुकी ; Pdm, Skd—कामुका ।

<sup>3</sup> Skd—परि ; DBh—प्रोक्ता दक्षिणे चोत्तरे तथा ।

विश्वकासा भगवती विश्वकामप्रपूरिणी ॥ (Cf. p. 66, note 2.)

<sup>4</sup> Skd—जयन्ती हस्तिने पुरे ।

<sup>5</sup> DBh—गौरौ प्रोक्ता कान्यकुब्जे रम्भा तु मलयाचले ।

<sup>6</sup> Mts ab—एकाम्बके ; DBh—एकाग्रपौठे सम्प्रोक्ता देवी सा कौर्त्तिमत्यपि ।

विश्वे विश्वेश्वरी प्राञ्जः पुरुहताच्च पुष्करे ।

केदारपौठे सम्प्रोक्ता देवी सन्मार्गदायिनी ॥ (Cf. note 3 above ; also p. 66, note 2.)

<sup>7</sup> Pdm—विष्वा ।

<sup>8</sup> Pdm (v.l.)—विश्वेश्वरी ।

<sup>9</sup> Pdm—कर्णिके पुरुहतेति केदारे मार्गदायिका । Skd—पुरुहता च ।

<sup>10</sup> DBh—मन्दा ; Skd—हिमवतः प्रस्थे ।

<sup>11</sup> Pdm—भद्रकालिका ।

<sup>12</sup> Mts, DBh, Skd—स्थानेश्वरे ।

<sup>13</sup> Mts ab—विष्णवे. Cf. विन्दुक in the *Vignusamhitā*.

<sup>14</sup> Pdm—देवी ; DBh—प्रोक्ता ।

<sup>15</sup> Mts c—महेश्वरे ; Skd—भद्रे भद्रेश्वरीति च ।

<sup>16</sup> DBh—वराहशैले तु जया ।

<sup>17</sup> Pdm—रुद्रकोट्याच्च ; DBh—रुद्राणी रुद्रकोट्याच्च ; Skd—रुद्रकोट्याच्च कल्याणी ।

<sup>18</sup> Skd, Pdm, DBh—तथा ।

<sup>19</sup> DBh reads this line after the following line,

<sup>20</sup> Skd, DBh—मर्कट ; Pdm—मर्कटे महालेश्वरी ।



शालग्रामे<sup>1</sup> महादेवी शिवलिङ्गे जलप्रिया ।  
 मायापूर्यां कुमारी तु सन्ताने ललिता तथा ॥ ८ ॥  
 उत्पलाक्षी<sup>2</sup> सहस्राक्षे कमलाक्षे<sup>3</sup> महोत्पला ।  
 गङ्गायां<sup>5</sup> मङ्गला नाम<sup>6</sup> विमला पुरुषोत्तमे ॥ ९ ॥  
 विपाशायाममोघाक्षी पाटला पुण्ड्रवर्द्धने<sup>7</sup> ।  
 नारायणी सुपार्श्वे तु चिकूटे<sup>8</sup> भद्रसुन्दरी<sup>9</sup> ॥ १० ॥  
 विपुले विपुला नाम<sup>10</sup> कल्याणी मानसाक्षि<sup>11</sup> ।  
 कोटवी कोटितीर्थे तु<sup>12</sup> सुगन्धा माधवे वने<sup>13</sup> ॥ ११ ॥  
 गोदाश्रमे<sup>14</sup> त्रिसन्धा तु गङ्गाद्वारे रतिप्रिया<sup>15</sup> ।  
 शिवकुक्षे<sup>16</sup> शिवानन्दा<sup>17</sup> नन्दिनी देविकातटे ॥ १२ ॥  
 शक्तिायै द्वारवत्यान्तु राधा वृन्दावने वने<sup>18</sup> ।  
 देवकी मथुरायान्तु पाताले परमेश्वरी ॥ १३ ॥  
 चित्रकूटे तथा सीता विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनिवासिनी<sup>19</sup> ।  
 सद्माद्रावेकवीरा तु हरिश्चन्द्रे<sup>21</sup> तु चन्द्रिका ॥ १४ ॥

1 Skd—शालग्रामे ।

2 DBh reads this line after the following line.

3 Pdm—उत्पलाक्षी ।

4 Skd, Pdm, DBh—द्विरणाक्षे ।

Cf. गोवर्धनं हरिश्चन्द्रं पुरश्चन्द्रं प्रभूदकम् ।

सहस्राक्षं द्विरणाक्षं तथा च कदली नदी ॥ पद्मपुराण । दृष्टिखण्ड । ११ । ४२

5 Pdm, DBh—गङ्गायां ; Skd—गङ्गायां विमला नाम मङ्गला पुरुषोत्तमे ।

6 DBh—प्रोक्ता ।

7 Pdm—पुण्ड्रवर्द्धने । The accounts of Hiuen Tsang appear to support this form of the name.

8 Mts—विकूटे ।

9 DBh—चन्द्र ।

10 DBh—देवी ।

11 Skd, Mts, DBh—मनसाक्षि । After this line DBh reads the last line of verse 14 and the first of verse 15

12 Skd—तीर्थेषु ।

13 Pdm—माधवौ<sup>0</sup> ; Skd—गन्धमाधने (cf. verse 1). Cf. सुगन्धा in the V.S.

14 Pdm—गोदावर्यां ; Mts a (v.l.)—कुजाक्षि । Cf. कुजाक्षि in the V.S.

15 Pdm—हरिप्रिया ।

16 DBh—शिवकुक्षे ; Skd—शिवचण्डे ।

17 Mts a (v.l.)—सुनन्दा तु ; b (v.l.), DBh—शुभानन्दा ; Skd—सुभानन्दा ।

18 Pdm—तथा ।

19 Mts—विन्ध्यनिवासिनी ।

20 DBh reads this line after the following one.

21 Mts a (v.l.)—वर्मचन्द्रे ; Skd—वर्धिका । For the name हरिश्चन्द्र, see Padma

Purāṇa, Śrīṣṭīkhaṇḍa, ch. 11, v. 42 quoted in note 4 above.

रमया रामतीर्थे तु यमुनायां ऋगावती ।  
 करवीरे महालक्ष्मीरमादेवी <sup>1</sup> विनायके ॥ १५ ॥  
 अरोगा <sup>2</sup> वैद्यनाथे तु महाकाले महेश्वरी ।  
 अभयेलुप्यतीर्थे तु <sup>3</sup> चाम्बता विन्ध्यकन्दरे ॥ १६ ॥  
 माण्डव्ये <sup>4</sup> माण्डवी नाम स्वाहा माहेश्वरे <sup>5</sup> पुरे ।  
 कागलाखे <sup>6</sup> प्रचण्डा तु चण्डिकामरकण्डके <sup>7</sup> ॥ १७ ॥  
 सोमेश्वरे वरारोहा प्रभासे पुष्करावती ।  
 देवमाता <sup>8</sup> सरस्वत्यां पारावारतटे माता <sup>9</sup> ॥ १८ ॥  
 महालये महाभागा <sup>10</sup> पयोधरां पिङ्गलेश्वरी ।  
 सिंहिका झतश्रीचे तु कार्तिकेये यशस्वरौ <sup>11</sup> ॥ १९ ॥  
 उत्पलावर्त्तके लोला सुभद्रा शोणसङ्गमे <sup>12</sup> ।  
 माता सिद्धपुरे <sup>13</sup> लक्ष्मीरङ्गना <sup>14</sup> भरताश्रमे ॥ २० ॥  
 जालन्धरे विन्ध्यमुखी तारा किष्किन्धपर्वते <sup>15</sup> ।  
 देवदारुवने पुष्टिर्मेधा काश्मीरमण्डले ॥ २१ ॥  
 भीमादेवी हिमाद्रौ तु <sup>16</sup> तुष्टिर्वल्लेश्वरे <sup>17</sup> तथा ।  
 कपालमोचने शुद्धिर्माता <sup>18</sup> कायावरोहणे ॥ २२ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Skd—रूपादेवी ।

<sup>2</sup> Mts 6 (v.l.), DBh, Skd—अरोग्या ।

<sup>3</sup> Skd—<sup>०</sup>तीर्थे तु खगो वा ; Pdm—पुण्यतीर्थे तु चम्बता ; DBh—नितम्बा विन्ध्य<sup>०</sup> ।

<sup>4</sup> DBh—माण्डवे ; Skd—माण्डुकौनास ।

<sup>5</sup> Skd—महेश्वरे ; DBh—माहेश्वरी<sup>०</sup> ।

<sup>6</sup> DBh—अगलाखे ; Skd—कागलाखे ; Pdm—वेगले तु प्रचण्डाय ।

<sup>7</sup> Mts—मकरन्दके ; 6 (v.l.)—मरकण्डके ।

<sup>8</sup> Skd—वेदमाता ।

<sup>9</sup> Pdm—पारापारे तटे स्थिता ; DBh—पारावारानटे स्मृता ; Skd—पारा पारानटे सुने ।

<sup>10</sup> Pdm—महापद्मा ।

<sup>11</sup> Pdm—तु शङ्करौ ; DBh—<sup>०</sup>लतिशङ्करौ ; Skd—कार्तिके चैव शङ्करौ ।

<sup>12</sup> Pdm—सिन्धुसङ्गमे ।

<sup>13</sup> DBh—सिद्धवने ; Skd—सिद्धवटे ; Pdm—जमा सिद्धवने ।

<sup>14</sup> Pdm, DBh—लक्ष्मीरङ्गना ; Skd—लक्ष्मीसरङ्गा ।

<sup>15</sup> Skd—किष्किन्ध<sup>०</sup> ।

<sup>16</sup> Pdm—च ।

<sup>17</sup> DBh—तुष्टिविन्ध्येश्वरी ; Mts—पुष्टिविन्ध्येश्वरे ; Skd—पुष्टिर्वल्लेश्वरे ।

<sup>18</sup> Pdm—शुद्धा माता ।



शङ्खोद्गारे ध्वनिर्नाम<sup>1</sup> धृतिः पिण्डारके तथा ।  
 काला<sup>2</sup> तु चन्द्रभागायामच्छोदे शिवकारिणी<sup>3</sup> ॥ २३ ॥  
 वेणायाममृता नाम<sup>4</sup> वदर्यामुर्वशी तथा ।  
 औषधी<sup>5</sup> चोत्तरकुरौ कुशदोषे कुशोदका ॥ २४ ॥  
 मन्मथा हेमकूटे तु मुकुटे<sup>6</sup> सत्यवादिनी ।  
 अश्वत्थे वन्दनीया<sup>7</sup> तु निधिवैश्रवणालये ॥ २५ ॥  
 गायत्री वेदवदने पार्वती शिवसन्निधौ ।  
 देवलोके<sup>8</sup> तथेन्द्राणी ब्रह्मास्थेषु<sup>9</sup> सरस्वती ॥ २६ ॥  
 सूर्यविम्बे प्रभा नाम मातृणां वैष्णवी मता ।  
 अस्मन्मती सतीनान्तु रामासु च तिलोत्तमा ॥  
 चित्ते<sup>10</sup> ब्रह्मकला नाम शक्तिः सर्वेश्वरीरिणाम् ॥ २७ ॥<sup>11</sup>  
 एतदुद्देश्यतः<sup>12</sup> प्रोक्तं नामाष्टप्रतमुत्तमम् ।  
 अष्टोत्तरञ्च तीर्थाणां शतमेतदुदाहृतम् ॥ २८ ॥

### APPENDIX III

*Evolution of the Dakṣayajña Story.*

#### दक्षयज्ञकथामूलम्

(a) प्रथित्य यस्य वीरकर्ममिष्ठादनुष्ठितं नु नर्यो व्यपौहत् ।  
 पुनस्तदा लुहति यत् कनाया दुहितुरा अनुभूतमनर्वा ॥

<sup>1</sup> Mts a—धरा नाम ।

<sup>2</sup> DBh—कला ।

<sup>3</sup> DBh—शिवधारिणी; Pdm—सिद्धिदायिनी; Skd—शक्तिधारिणी ।

<sup>4</sup> Pdm—देवी ।

<sup>5</sup> Mts b—औषधी; DBh—औषधिसोत्तर<sup>o</sup> । Cf. औषज in the V.S.

<sup>6</sup> DBh, Pdm, Skd—कुमुदे ।

<sup>7</sup> Skd—वन्दिनीका ।

<sup>8</sup> DBh—वेदलोके ।

<sup>9</sup> Pdm, Skd—ब्रह्मास्ते तु ।

<sup>10</sup> Pdm—चित्ते ।

<sup>11</sup> Skd adds after this line : प्रह्लेश्वरी भृगुलेत्रे भृगो सौभाग्यसुन्दरी ।

<sup>12</sup> Pdm—एतद्वक्तव्यं मया ;

DBh—इमान्वष्टशतानि स्युः पीठानि जनमेजय ।

तत्संख्यकास्तदीशान्यो देव्यश्च परिकीर्तिताः ॥

सतीदेव्यभूतानि पीठानि सन्ति तानि च ।

अन्यान्यपि प्रसिद्धानि यानि सुष्ठानि भूतले ॥

मध्या यत्कत्तमभवदभीके कामं कृत्वाने पितरि युवत्वाम् ।  
मनानग्रेतो जहतुर्वियन्ता सानौ निषित्तं स्रुतस्य योनौ ॥  
पिता यत् खां दुहितरमधिष्कन् क्षया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चत् ।  
स्वाधोऽजनयन् ब्रह्म देवा वास्तोष्पतिं व्रतपां निरतन्तन् ॥

(ऋग्वेद, १०।११।५-७)

(b) प्रजापतिर्ह वै खां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोषसं वा मिथुन्येनया  
स्यामिति । तां सम्बभुव । तद्वै देवागामाग आस य इत्थं खां दुहितरमस्माकं  
स्वसारं करोतीति । ते ह देवा उचुः । योऽयं देवः पशूनामीष्टेऽतिसंघं वा  
अयं चरति य इत्थं खां दुहितरमस्माकं स्वसारं करोति विधेममिति । तं  
ब्रह्मोऽभ्यायत्य विव्याध । तस्य सामि रेतः प्रचस्कन्द । तथेन्नूनं तदास । तस्मादेत-  
दृषिणाभ्यनूक्तम् । पिता यत्खां दुहितरमधिष्कन् क्षया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्च-  
दिति । तदामिमाहृतमित्युक्तं तस्मिंस्तदाख्यायते यथा तदेवा रेतः प्राजनयन् ।  
तेषां तदा देवानां क्रोधो व्येदय प्रजापतिमभिषज्यंस्तस्य तं श्रुत्यं निरहन्तन् । स वै  
यज्ञ एव प्रजापतिः । ते ह्योचुः । उपजानौत यथेदं नामुयासत्कनौयो ह्य  
ऊतैर्यथेदं स्यादिति । ते ह्योचुः । भगायैगद्विगत आसीनाय परिहरत  
तद्भगः प्राशिष्यति तद्यथाऊतमेवं भविष्यतीति । तद्भगाय दक्षिणत आसीनाय  
पर्याजङ्गुः । तद्भगोऽवेक्षां चक्रे । तस्याक्षिणी निर्ददाह । तथेन्नूनं तदास ।  
तस्मादाज्जरन्धो भगइति । ते ह्योचुः । नो न्वेवात्राश्रमत्पूणाऽएनत् परिहरतेति ।  
तत्पूणे पर्याजङ्गुः । तत्पूषा प्राश । तस्य दतो निर्जघान । तथेन्नूनं तदास ।  
तस्मादाज्जरदन्तकः पूषेति । \* \* \* (शतपथब्राह्मण-माध्यन्दिनशाखा । १।७।४।  
१-७ ।

(c) प्रजापतिर्वै खां दुहितरमभ्यथायद्विमित्यन्य आज्जरषसमित्यन्ये । तामृश्यो  
भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्येत् । तं देवा अपश्यन् न कृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति ।  
ते तमेच्छन् एनमारिष्यत्येतमन्योन्यस्मिन्नाविन्दन् । तेषां या एव घोरतमास्तन्व  
आसंस्ता एकधा समभरंस्ताः संभृता एष देवोऽभवत्तदस्यै तद्भूतवन्नाम भवति वै  
स योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद । तं देवा अब्रुवन्नयं वै प्रजापतिरकृतमंकरिमं विधेति ।  
स तथेयब्रवीत् स वै वो वरं वृणा इति वृणौष्येति । स एतमेव वरमवृणीत  
पशूनामाधिपत्यम् । तदस्यैतत्पशुमन्नाम पशुमान् भवति योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद ।  
तमाभ्यायत्याविध्यत् । स विद्ध ऊर्ध्वं उदप्रपततमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते । य उ एव  
मृगव्याधः स उ एव स या रोहित्वा रोहिणी य एवेधुस्त्रिकाण्डा स एवेधु-  
स्त्रिकाण्डा । तदा इदं प्रजापते रेतः सित्तमधावत्तत्सरोऽभवत् । ते देवा अब्रुवन्  
मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति । यदब्रुवन् मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति तन्मादुषम-  
भवत् । \* \* \* (ऋतरेयब्राह्मण । ३।३३)



(d) प्रजापतिर्वै रुद्रं यज्ञान्निरतजत् । सोऽकामयत मेऽयमस्मा आकूतिः  
समृद्धिर्घो मा यज्ञान्निरमाक्षौदिति । स यज्ञमभ्यायभ्याविध्य तदाविर्जं निरहन्तत् ।  
तत् प्राश्निजमभवत्तदुदयज्ञत्तद्भूगाय पर्यहरंस्तत्प्रतौक्षेत । तस्य चक्षुः परापतत्त-  
स्मादाङ्गरव्यो वै भग इत्यपिहृतं नेच्छेमिच्छति तत् सवित्रे पर्यहरंस्तत्प्रत्यग्रहात्  
तस्य पाणौ प्रतिच्छेद तस्मै हिरण्यमयौ प्रत्यदधुस्तस्माद्धिरण्यपाणिरिति  
स्तुतस्तत् पूषो पर्यहरंस्तत् प्राञ्जात्तस्य दन्ताः परोप्यन्त तस्मादाङ्गरदन्तकाः पूषा  
पेष्टभाजन इति । \* \* \* (गोपयब्राह्मण । २।१) ।

(e) कस्यचित्त्वथ कालस्य दक्षनामा प्रजापतिः ।

पूर्वोक्तेन विधानेन यत्तमागोऽन्वपद्यत ॥  
ततस्तस्य मुखं देवाः सर्वे शक्रपुरोगमाः ।  
गमनाय समागन्ध बुद्धिमापेदिरे तदा ॥  
ते विमानैर्महात्मानो ज्वलनार्कसमप्रभैः ।  
देवस्थानुमते गच्छन् गङ्गाद्वारमिति श्रुतिः ॥  
प्रस्थिता देवता दृष्ट्वा शैलराजसुता तदा ।  
उवाच वचनं साध्वी देवं प्रशुपतिं पतिम् ॥  
भगवन् क्व नु यान्त्येते देवाः शक्रपुरोगमाः ।  
ब्रूहि तत्त्वेन तत्त्वज्ञ संश्रयो मे महानयम् ॥

महेश्वर उवाच ॥

दक्षो नाम महाभागे प्रजानां पतिस्ततमः ।  
ह्ययमेधेन यजते तत्र यान्ति दिवौकसः ॥

उमोवाच ॥

यज्ञमेतं महादेव किमर्थं नाधिगच्छसि ।  
केन वा प्रतिषेधेन गमनं ते न विद्यते ॥

महेश्वर उवाच ॥

सुरैरेव महाभागे पूर्वमेतदनुष्ठितम् ।  
यज्ञेषु सर्वेषु मम न भाग उपकल्पितः ॥  
पूर्वोपायोपपन्नेन मार्गेण वरवर्णिनि ।  
न मे सुराः प्रयच्छन्ति भागं यज्ञस्य घर्मतः ॥

उमोवाच ॥

भगवन् सर्वभूतेषु प्रभावाभ्यधिको गुणैः ।  
अजय्यश्चाप्यष्टयश्च तेजसा यशसा अत्रिया  
अनेन ते महाभाग प्रतिषेधेन भागतः ।  
अतीव दुःखमुत्पन्नं वेपथुश्च ममानघ ॥

भीष्म उवाच ॥

एवमुक्त्वा तु सा देवौ तदा पशुपतिं पतिम् ।  
तुष्णीम्भूताभवद्वाजन् दह्यमानेन चेतसा ॥  
अथ देव्या मतं ज्ञात्वा हृद्गतं यत्किञ्चिर्बलम् ।  
स समाज्ञापयामास तिल्व त्वमिति नन्दिनम् ॥  
ततो योगबलं कृत्वा सर्वयोगेश्वरेश्वरः ।  
तं यच्च स महातेजा भौमैरनुचरैस्तदा ॥  
सहसा वातयामास देवदेवः पिशाकपृक् ॥ \* \* \*

(महाभारत १२।२८।१६-१३) ।

(f) \* \* \* केचिदभङ्गः प्राग्वशं पत्नीशालां तथापरे ।

सद आम्नोभ्रशालाञ्च तद्विहारं महानसम् ॥  
रुच्युर्ग्रन्थपात्राणि तत्रैकेऽम्नोनाश्रयन् ।  
तुण्डेष्टमूचयन् केचिद्विभिदुर्वेदिमेखलाः ॥  
अवाधन्त मुनीनन्ये एके पत्नीरतर्जयन् ।  
अपरे जगद्भर्तृवान् प्रत्यासन्नान् प्रलापितान् ॥  
भृगुं बबन्ध मणिमान् वीरभद्रः प्रजापतिम् ।  
चण्डेशः पूषणं देवं भगं नन्दीश्वरोऽग्रहौत् ॥  
सर्व एवर्त्विजो वृद्धा सदस्याः सदिवौकसः ।  
तैरर्धमानाः सुभृशं ग्रावभिर्नैकधाद्रवन् ॥  
जुह्वतः खवहस्तस्य भ्रमश्रणि भगवान् भवः ।  
भृगोर्लुलुचे सदसि योऽहसत् भ्रमश्रु दर्शयन् ॥  
भगस्य नेत्रे भगवान् पातितस्य रथा भुवि ।  
उज्जहार सदःस्थोऽक्ष्णा यः प्रपन्तमस्रसुचत् ॥  
पूषा ह्यपातयदन्तान् कलिङ्गस्य यथा बलः ।  
श्रप्यमाने गरिमणि योऽहसदर्शयन् दतः ॥ \* \* \*

(भागवतपुराण १८।५।१४-२१)

(g) \* \* \* वीरभद्रोऽपि दीप्तात्मा शक्रस्यैवोद्यतं करम् ।

व्यकुम्भयददीनात्मा तथान्येषां दिवौकसाम् ॥  
भगस्य नेत्रे चोत्पाद्य करजायेण लीलया ।  
निहत्य मुष्टिना दन्तान् पूषाश्चैवमपातयत् ॥  
तथा चन्द्रमसं देवं पादाङ्गुष्ठेन लीलया ।  
घर्षयामास बलवान् स्मयमानो गणेश्वरः ॥  
वज्रेहस्तदयं क्त्वा जिह्वासुत्पाद्य लीलया ।  
जघान मुष्टिं पादेन मुनीनपि मुनीश्वराः ॥  
तथा विष्णुं सगरुढं समायान्तं महाबलः ।  
विष्याद्य निश्चितैर्बाणैः स्तम्भयित्वा सुदर्शनम् ॥ \* \* \*

(कूर्मपुराण १।१५।६०-६४) ।



## APPENDIX IV

*Date of the Tantrasāra.*

The celebrated Tantric encyclopedia entitled *Tantrasāra*, composed or rather compiled by the great Bengali leader of Tantric thought named Kṛṣṇānanda, is well known to all students of the Tantra literature. In the colophons added to some of the chapters of the *Tantrasāra* the author calls himself 'Mahāmahopādhyāya-Kṛṣṇānanda-Vāgīśa-Bhaṭṭācārya'; but later writers usually refer to him as Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa. *Vāgīśa* seems to have been an abbreviated form of *Āgamavāgīśa*.

The late Mr. N. N. Vasu gave the following description of the family, to which Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, author of the *Tantrasāra*, belonged, in the *Vārendra-Brāhmaṇa-Vivaraṇa* Volume of his *Vanṅer Jātiya Itihāsa* (in Bengali): 'This family is known in the community of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas as the Kāśyapa-gotriya Maitras of Maṇḍalajāni. It originally flourished at Āgameśvari-talā at Śrīdhāma-Navadvīpa; but later, owing to an expansion of the family, its members scattered themselves over different parts of Bengal. A branch of the family still lives at Śrīdhāma and is devoted to the worship of the goddess Āgameśvari' (p. 157). A number of traditions about Kṛṣṇānanda's religious life have also been quoted in the work. In connection with the date of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, Mr. Vasu says (*loc. cit.*), 'Kṛṣṇānanda, Śrīcāitanya and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi were co-students at the Catuspāthi of the same Guru at Navadvīpa. At first Kṛṣṇānanda and Cāitanya were great friends; but dissension separated them when Cāitanya preferred to worship Kṛṣṇa according to the principle known as the Sakhi-bhāva. Kṛṣṇānanda requested his friend not to take up the new course, but was insulted; and from that time they began to preach the Śākta and Vaiṣṇava doctrines separately. Kṛṣṇānanda attained perfection with the Śakti-mantra and conceived and popularized the form of the image of the goddess Kālī.<sup>1</sup> Before this, Kālī was usually worshipped at a Ghaṭa. The Ghaṭa established for the purpose of worshipping the goddess by Kṛṣṇānanda at the temple of Āgameśvari at Navadvīpa still exists and a large number of Śāktas flock to it for worshipping Mahāmāyā.'

The story narrated by Mr. Vasu invites comments. In the first place, we know that Kṛṣṇānanda began his work with an adoration to Lord Kṛṣṇa, identified with Viṣṇu (*Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsī edition, p. 1):

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वन्द्वं ब्रह्मादिसुरपूजितम् ।

गुरुश्च ज्ञानदातारं कृष्णानन्देन धीमता ॥

<sup>1</sup> According to a tradition recorded by Vasu, Kṛṣṇānanda was ordered by the goddess Kālī in a dream to popularize the form of her image. On being questioned as to how the form could be realized, the goddess replied that it would be revealed to the devotee the next morning. Early next day when Kṛṣṇānanda came out of his house, he found a young cowherdess engaged in preparing cowdung cakes. She was standing in the *ālīḍha* pose (with the right knee thrown to front and the left leg firm behind in a slanting position) and had a large ball of cowdung in her left hand and a small one in the right, upraised to be set on a wall in the form of a cake. On the sudden consciousness of her being noticed by Kṛṣṇānanda the woman felt very much ashamed and pressed her tongue, that lolled, with her teeth (cf. Bengali *লজ্জায় জিব কাটা* which gives an expression to the feeling of shame). The appearance of the cowherdess as seen by Kṛṣṇānanda that morning was popularized by him as the form of the image of Dakṣiṇa-Kālī. Kṛṣṇānanda began to worship small images of this type made of mud by himself every day to be immersed early next morning in the waters of the Ganges. Later the king of Navadvīpa introduced the worship of large images of the same type on the newmoon of the month of Kārttika.



This seems to show that Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa was not initiated into the Śakti-mantra, but was a Tantric devotee who received his initiation into the Vaiṣṇava formula.<sup>1</sup> In the Śyāmā or Kālī section of the *Tantrasāra*, the author quotes the opinions of various Tantra works, but does not express any special view of his own (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 472ff; also Pūrṇānanda's *Śyāmārahasya*, ed. R. N. Chatterji, pp. 11-12).

In the second place, it is extremely difficult to regard Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa as a co-student of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya of Navadvīpa and the great Bengali logician Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Caitanya was born on the full-moon day of Phālguna in Śaka 1407, corresponding to the 18th February, 1486 A.D., and died at the age of 48 on the seventh tithi of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in Śaka 1455 (1533 A.D.). Vide D. C. Sen, *Vaṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya*, 5th edition, pp. 256, 266; R. G. Bhandarkar's *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 118-19. According to the *History of Indian Logic* (pp. 463-65) by S. C. Vidyabhushan, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi flourished between 1477 and 1547 A.D., although recent writers on the subject suggest that the Śiromaṇi was born about 1460-65 A.D., composed his famous *Tattvacintāmaṇidīhiti* about 1490-1500 A.D. and was therefore about a generation earlier than Caitanya (cf. *V.S.P.P.*, Vol. L, p. 13; LIII, pp. 1, 3). If, therefore, the story narrated by Mr. Vasu has to be believed, we have to assume that Kṛṣṇānanda was born about 1480 A.D. and died sometime about the middle of the sixteenth century. There is, however, evidence to show that the *Tantrasāra* was composed several years after 1577 A.D.

The great Tantric teacher Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa, who was an inhabitant of the Mymensing District of Bengal (cf. Introduction to the Calcutta Sanskrit Series edition of the *Śrīlattvacintāmaṇi*), wrote his famous work entitled *Śrīlattvacintāmaṇi* in the Śaka year 1499 corresponding to 1577 A.D. This is clear from the following passage of the work:

श्रीमत्परमहंस-परिव्राजक-श्रीगुरु-ब्रह्मानन्द-मुखारविन्द-निखन्दमान-परमरहस्याति-  
रहस्य-निगममकरन्द-सन्दोहतुन्दिलानन्दः श्रीपूर्णानन्दपरमहंसः श्रीतत्त्वविन्तामणिं

चतुर्दशशताधिकनवनवतिशतकाब्दे वितनोति । The *Śrīlattvacintāmaṇi* by Pūrṇānanda has been quoted by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa in his *Tantrasāra* (p. 155). Now even if Pūrṇānanda and Kṛṣṇānanda were contemporaries, it is difficult to believe that in that age, when there was little facility of communication, Kṛṣṇānanda of Navadvīpa in the Nadia District could have information about the work of Pūrṇānanda of Mymensing and secure a copy of it immediately after its composition. The *Tantrasāra* thus does not appear to have been composed much earlier than circa 1600 A.D. If, under the circumstances, it is conjectured that the *Tantrasāra* was written by Kṛṣṇānanda when he was more than hundred years old, the story of Kṛṣṇānanda, Caitanya and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi having been co-students under the same Guru may not be altogether impossible. But such a suggestion, if not wholly absurd, is certainly rather improbable. It can hardly be accepted without any corroborative evidence. The *Tantrasāra*

<sup>1</sup> That Kṛṣṇānanda was not anti-Vaiṣṇava is even admitted by a tradition recorded by Vasu, according to which Śākta Kṛṣṇānanda had a brother named Sahasrākṣa who was a Vaiṣṇava. One day a number of bananas, preserved by Kṛṣṇānanda with a view to offering them to the goddess Āgameśvarī (Kālī), was, during his absence, dedicated by Sahasrākṣa to his own tutelary deity, the god Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. At this Kṛṣṇānanda became very much annoyed. But when at night the Āgamavāgiśa was worshipping the goddess, he and his Vaiṣṇava brother, who happened to be near him, noticed with surprise that the goddess had Gopāla (child Kṛṣṇa) on her lap and was feeding him with bananas like a mother. Thereafter the two brothers realized that there was really no difference between the Vaiṣṇava and Śākta forms of worship.



also quotes Rāghava Bhaṭṭa (*loc. cit.*, p. 16 *et passim*), who wrote the *Padārthādarśa* commentary on the *Sāradātīlaka* and flourished in 1493-94 A.D., and the *Tantrakaumudī* (*loc. cit.*, p. 374) composed by the Maithila Devanātha at the court of king Malladeva Naranārāyaṇa of Kamta (1555-87 A.D.; cf. *Pravāsī*, 1354 B.S., pp. 507-08).

In the preface to the *Kālikhaṇḍa* or Section I of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Dr. B. Bhattacharya has made an attempt to determine the date of the composition of the *Śaktisaṅgama* and has incidentally discussed the date of the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa. Dr. Bhattacharya says that Kṛṣṇānanda, author of the *Tantrasāra*, was a disciple of Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa, author of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi*. As the preceptor, i.e. Pūrṇānanda, wrote his work in 1577 A.D., the disciple, i.e. Kṛṣṇānanda, in Dr. Bhattacharya's opinion, may have composed his *Tantrasāra* about thirty years later, that is to say, about 1607 A.D. Unfortunately however the suggestion that the author of the *Tantrasāra* was a disciple of that of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* is absolutely unwarranted.

It is well known that Tantric devotees regard the Guru or preceptor as equal or even superior to all the gods as an object of veneration. Kṛṣṇānanda himself quotes the following verse in praise of the Guru from the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* in his *Tantrasāra* (p. 2):

गुरुः पिता गुरुर्माता गुरुर्देवो गुरुर्गतिः ।

शिवे सद्ये गुरुस्नाता गुरौ सद्ये न कश्चन ॥

In this connection, the attention of scholars may be drawn to the views of various Tantra works quoted in the *Guru-śiṣya-Prakarana* of the *Prāṇa-toṣaṇī Tantra* (Vasumatī edition, pp. 91-103), especially to the following citations from the *Guru Tantra* and the *Guptasādhana Tantra* (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 94-95):

न गुरोरधिकं शास्त्रं न गुरोरधिकं तपः ।

न गुरोरधिकं मन्त्रो न गुरोरधिकं फलम् ॥

न गुरोरधिका देवो न गुरोरधिकः शिवः ।

न गुरोरधिका मूर्तिर्न गुरोरधिको जपः ॥

(गुरुतन्त्र)

गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।

गुरुस्त्वोर्थं गुरुर्यज्ञो गुरुर्दानं गुरुर्जपः ॥

गुबरभिर्गुरुः सूर्यः सर्वं गुर्बमयं जगत् ॥

(गुप्तसाधनतन्त्र)

The section from Pūrṇānanda's *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* quoted above, in which the author introduces himself as a disciple of another Tantrācārya named Brahmānanda Paramahansa, demonstrates very clearly how much respectfully a Tantric devotee is expected to refer to his Guru. In his *Śyāmā-rahasya* Pūrṇānanda refers to himself as श्रीगुरुपादपद्मपरामोदामृतज्ञावितः पूर्णानन्दगिरिः । There is a distinct injunction as regards the mention of

one's preceptor in the *Kulārṇava Tantra* from which the following verses have been quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra* (p. 103):

औगुलं कुलश्रास्त्राणि पूजास्थानानि यानि च ।

भक्त्या औपूर्वकं देवि प्रयास्य च प्रकीर्तयेत् ॥

गुरुं नाम्ना न भाषेत जपकालादृते प्रिये ।

औनाथदेवस्वामीति विवादे साधने वदेत् ॥

It is very interesting to note in this connection that the following lines of the *Tantrasāra* (p. 489) attributes a particular view to Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa and refutes it categorically:

पूर्णानन्दमतेन लक्ष्मणे पुरस्चरयं; तत् सन्दिग्धमतं; नानातन्त्रे लक्ष्मण्यदर्शनात् लक्ष्मण्येनैव पुरस्चरयं सिद्धमिति ।<sup>1</sup>

If Pūrṇānanda had been the preceptor of the author of the *Tantrasāra*, he would not certainly have been mentioned in the above passage merely as Pūrṇānanda but would have been called at least *Śrī-Pūrṇānanda* (if living).<sup>2</sup> This non-reverential reference to the author of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* in the *Tantrasāra* shows beyond doubt that Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa was not a disciple of Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa.

On the title page as well as in the introduction (p. 21) of the Vasumatī edition of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*, its author Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra is represented as the *ṛddhaprapautra* or great-great-grandson of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa author of the *Tantrasāra*. Curiously enough the book itself proves clearly that the statement is wrong. Vasu's statement (*loc. cit.*) that the author of the book represents himself as the grandson of Sātu Ācārya seems also to be wrong. It is well known to the students of Tantra literature that Rāmatoṣaṇa's work was prepared and published under the patronage of Bābu Prāṇakṣṇa Viśvāsa of Khardaha near Calcutta, who was a great patron of Sastric learning. The author calls his work a *latā* (*vallī*, etc.) or creeper styled *Prāṇa-toṣaṇī* wherein parts of the names of both himself and his patron were cleverly accommodated. In a large number of passages in the work, Rāmatoṣaṇa refers to his indebtedness to Prāṇakṣṇa as well as to the latter's qualities, laudable activities and family relations. In many passages he also speaks of himself and his family. The following passage (p. 147):

औप्रायकृष्णकृतिरस्य निदेशवर्ती

मैत्रेयवंशजकुलान्त्रितचक्रवर्ती । etc.

says that Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra belonged to a Vamśaja (non-Kulin) family of the Maitreyas of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇa community. Elsewhere (p. 77) he refers to his father Kṛṣṇamaṅgala Vidyāvāgiśa and his mother Gaṅgādevi:

कृष्णमङ्गलविद्यावागीशसूनुः सतां मुदे

गङ्गादेवौसतोऽकार्षीर्द्धर्मकाण्डं द्वितीयकम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 488: अस्य पुरस्चरयं लक्ष्मणपथ पूर्णानन्दमतेन । The reference is to Ch. v of Pūrṇānanda's *Syāmārahasya* which was composed later than his *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* (1677 A.D.). The mention of Pūrṇānanda and the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇi* is noticed in the old and complete manuscripts of the *Tantrasāra* including one said to be copied in 1658 A.D. (probably during the author's lifetime).

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the Guru's name (if he was dead) was mentioned without honorific expressions when he was clearly said to have been one's preceptor: cf. *tripurānandena mad-gurunā vyākhyātam* in *Brahmānanda's Tārārahasya*.



In another passage (p. 105) Rāmatoṣaṇa speaks of his elder brother Rāma-locana Vidyābhūṣaṇa who is said to have been the author of a commentary on the *Vāstuyāga* entitled *Vāstuyāga-pradīpikā*; cf.

मदग्रजरामलोचनविद्याभूषणकृत-वास्तुयागप्रदीपिकाष्टतह्यशौर्वपञ्चरात्रे, etc.

There are several passages referring to Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, author of the *Tantrasāra*, as a distinguished member of the family to which Rāmatoṣaṇa belonged; cf.

अस्मद्गोष्ठौगरिष्ठकृष्णानन्दागमवागीशेन खल्लततन्त्रसारे सर्वं लिखितम् (p. 104);

अस्मद्गोष्ठौगरिष्ठकृष्णानन्दागमवागीशेन खल्लततन्त्रसारग्रन्थे लिखिता (p. 143).

It is evident that the Āgamavāgīśa was an ancestor of the author of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*. Fortunately, however, there are some sections of the work which clearly define the relationship between Kṛṣṇānanda and Rāmatoṣaṇa and says that the former was the latter's *atyativṛddhaprapitāmaha*, i.e. great-grandfather's great-grandfather; cf.

अस्मदव्यतिष्ठद्वप्रपितामह-कृष्णानन्दागमवागीशेन तन्त्रसारे लिखिते (p. 116);

अस्मदव्यतिष्ठद्वप्रपितामह-सहृदयगोष्ठौगरिष्ठ-कृष्णानन्दागमवागीश-भट्टाचार्यः

खल्लततन्त्रसारे लिखितम् (p. 75).

Rāmatoṣaṇa was therefore the *atyativṛddhaprapautra*, i.e. great-grandson's great-grandson, of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya and certainly not the latter's *vṛddhaprapautra* or great-grandson as asserted by the editor of the Vasumatī edition of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī Tantra*. There is moreover a detailed genealogy in the work (p. 146) which makes the relation between the author of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* and that of the *Tantrasāra* absolutely clear.

Cf.

धौमान् श्रीमान् भुवनविदिततन्त्रसारस्य कर्ता

कृष्णानन्दोऽजनि भुवि नवद्वीपदेशप्रदीपः ।

काशीनाथोऽभवदिह सुतस्तस्य सारावलीकृतं

विद्वान् मान्योऽजनि तदनुजो विश्वनाथाज्ञयोऽतः ॥

गोपालो निर्णयकृतियशस्वी मधोः सृदनाच्चा (सृदनाच्चा)-

भूता पुत्रौ मधुसूत इतः कालिदासः प्रसिद्धः ।

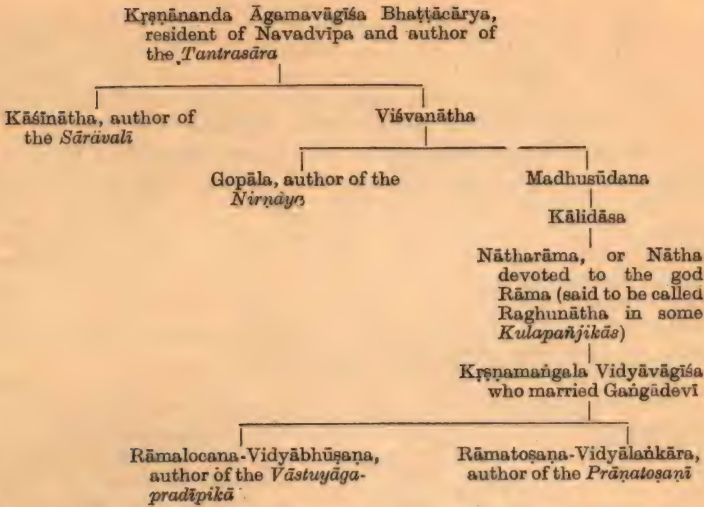
तत्पुत्रोऽभृद्भुवरपरो नाथ एकान्तबुद्धि-

स्तत्पुत्रोऽभवेदिह सुधीर्मङ्गलः कृष्णपूर्वः ॥

श्रीकृष्णमङ्गलसुतो नववल्गिकायाः

श्रीरामतोषण इदं कृतवान् द्वितीयम् । etc.

From the above details as well as those quoted before, the following genealogy of the Maitra or Maitreya family, to which Kṛṣṇānanda and Rāmatoṣaṇa belonged, may be prepared and offered in a tabular form:

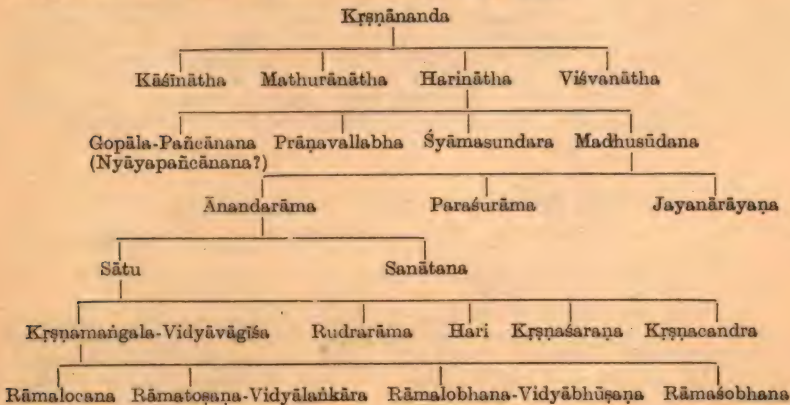


In the *Vārendra-Brāhmaṇa-Vivarāṇa* (p. 161) by the late Mr. N. N. Vasu there is a genealogical table of the Maitras of Maṇḍalajāni which slightly differs from the one quoted above. Although the details supplied by Rāmatoṣaṇa in his *Prānatoṣaṇī* appear to be authoritative, it has been suggested (*Pravāsi*, B.S. 1354, p. 506) that the *Sārāvalī* and the *Nirṇaya* have been wrongly ascribed to Kāśīnātha and Gopāla respectively. Another mistake of Rāmatoṣaṇa has been pointed out by quoting the following verse of Gopāla-Pañcānana's *Tantradīpikā* (MS.):

आगमवागीशपौत्रेण हरिनाथस्य सुतुना ।

श्रीगोपालेन विज्ञेन कृतेयं तन्त्रदीपिका ॥ (*loc. cit.*)

which is said to be supported by the *Kulapañjikās*. It will not be out of place to quote the corresponding portion of Mr. Vasu's table (said to be quoted from Yādava Cakravartin's *Kulaśāstradīpikā*) for easy reference and to point to the interesting fact that most of the names in the family exhibit Vaiṣṇava influence none of them being typically Śākta.





It will be seen that Kṛṣṇānanda, author of the *Tantrasāra*, was the seventh in ascent from Rāmatoṣaṇa, author of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi*, in the family. If, as is usual, a period of twenty-five years is counted for each generation, Kṛṣṇānanda has to be placed about 150 years before the time of Rāmatoṣaṇa. The date of the composition of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi* is given in the work (p. 3) as: *ग्राहे नेत्रगुमाद्रिकाश्रपिमितेऽतौतेऽक्षयावान्तिथौ*, that is to say, the *akṣayā tithi* (probably the *akṣaya-trītiyā* or the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha) in the Śaka year 1742 (1820 A.D.). That the book was printed and published shortly before the 29th of Kārttika of the Bengali Śan 1231, corresponding to the 13th of November, 1824, is known from the *Samācāradarpaṇa* of that date cited by B. N. Banerji in his *Samvāda-patre Śekāler Kathā*, Vol. I, p. 60.<sup>1</sup> If then Rāmatoṣaṇa composed his *Prāṇatoṣaṇi* in 1820 A.D., it seems that his seventh ancestor Kṛṣṇānanda wrote his *Tantrasāra* about 1670 A.D.

In the preface to the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Tantrasāra*, the late Pandit Pañcānana Tarkaratna says that amongst various manuscripts of the work utilized in preparing the text of the above edition, one belonging to Pandit Haripada Śmṛtītīrtha, Professor of the Mulajor Sanskrit College, was found to have been copied in Śaka 1580 which would correspond to 1658 A.D. A recent note published in the *Pravāsī*, B.S. 1354, pp. 506-08, speaks of certain manuscripts of the *Tantrasāra* believed to be copied in Śaka 1601 (1679 A.D.), Śaka 1568 (1646 A.D.) and Śaka 1554 (1632 A.D.). These dates can be accepted only after careful examination. I had the opportunity of examining only the third of these manuscripts in the library of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat and find that the third figure of the year supposed to be Śaka 1554 is extremely doubtful. In any case, however, there is no doubt that the *Tantrasāra* was composed by the great Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa Bhaṭṭācārya sometime in the seventeenth century. It may not be improbable that Kṛṣṇānanda flourished in *circa* 1595-1675 A.D. and composed the *Tantrasāra* in the earlier part of his life.

## APPENDIX V

### *An Index of Pūthas.*

'Ain = 'Ain-i-Akberī; Ānanda = Ānandārṇava Tantra; Aṣṭādeśa = Aṣṭādeśapūṭha; Candī = Candīmāṅgala; Hevajra = Hevajra Tantra; Jñāna = Jñānārṇava Tantra; Kalikā = Kalikā Purāṇa; Kubjikā = Kubjikā Tantra; Nāma = Nāmāṣṭottaraśata (Appendix I); Nīla = Bṛhan-Nīlatantra; Pūṭha = Pūṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpūṭhanirūpaṇa (text edited above, pp. 42-58, with notes); Prāṇa = Prāṇatoṣaṇi Tantra; Rudra = Rudrayāmala; Sādhana = Sādhanamālā; Śiva = Śivacarita. The names of the Devi's limbs, the Devī and the Bhairava have been mentioned, in cases where they are indicated, in order to show the uncertainty of the traditions about them.

### A

Abdhisaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jyotirmayī). See Sāgarasaṅgama.

Achhoda—Nāma (Śivakāriṇī, Śivadhāriṇī, Siddhidāyini, Śaktidhāriṇī); modern Achchhavat in Kashmir.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 802-03 where the year of publication of the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi* is given as 1823 A.D. on the authority of the *Friend of India*, Vol. III, No. 11. The *Samvāda-patre Śekāler Kathā*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 486, gives the year of its composition as Śaka 1743; but the word *netra* indicates 'two' (not 'three') according to Sanskrit lexicons.

- Ādipīṭha—Nīla.  
 Aditipura—Nīla.  
 Ādinātha—Nīla.  
 Āditya—Nīla.  
 Adrikūṭa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Rudrāṇī—Mahāyogin).  
 Ādyantapura—Nīla.  
 Agastyāśrama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahāvidyā, Mattamedhā); one of the many places especially in Southern India associated with Agastya's name; probably Agastipuri near Nasik.  
 Aila, Aileyakavana—Prāṇa, Nīla.  
 Airāvati—See Irāvati.  
 Akampa—Nīla.  
 Akṣayagrīva—Kubjikā (v.l. Hayagrīva); probably a mistake for Akṣayaṇḍa.  
 Akṣayaṇḍa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Akṣayā); the sacred banyan tree located at many *tīrthas*, notably at Prayāga or Allahabad in U.P. and at Gayā in Bihar.  
 Ālāpura—Aṣṭādaśa (Yugalā); possibly a mistake for Elāpura.  
 Amala—Nāma (v.l. Malaya); cf. Anala.  
 Amarakaṇṭaka—Nāma (v.l. Makarandaka, Marakaṇṭaka—Caṇḍi); Nīla, Prāṇa (Amareśi); the source of the Sone and Narmada in the Eastern C.P.  
 Amaraparvata, Kanakāmaraparvata—Nīla; same as Meru.  
 Amareśa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Caṇḍi, Maheśvarī—Kusatuṅgāra); on the south bank of the Narmada, opposite Onkarnath, and to the north-west of Khandwa.  
 Ambara—Nāma (Viśvakāyā, Viśvakāmā); modern Amber in the Jaipur State, Rajputana.  
 Ambikā—Kubjikā; Nīla; may be Ambikā-Kālnā in the Burdwan District.  
 Ambujapura—Nīla.  
 Āmrakeśvara—See Āmrātakeśvara.  
 Āmrātakapura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Sūkṣmā—Sūkṣma); Nīla (Surūpeśā). See Āmrātakeśvara, Āmrakeśvara.  
 Āmrātakeśvara—Jñāna. See Āmrātakapura.  
 Āmṛtakaṇṭhika—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kauśikā). See Kauśikā.  
 Anala—Pīṭha (v.l. Śuci); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha; Ūrdhavadanta—Nārāyaṇī—Samkrūra); cf. the name of the Nala lake in the Ahmadabad region.  
 Ānanda—Nīla. See under *Nandataṭa*.  
 Anantapura—Nīla.  
 Aṅga—Rudra; east Bihar.  
 Animāpura—Nīla.  
 Aniruddhapura—Nīla.  
 Annapūrṇā—Nīla.  
 Antarvedi—Rudra; the Ganges-Jumna Doab between Prayāga and Haridvāra.  
 Araṇya—See Varenṇa.  
 Arbuda—Jñāna; Nīla (Kātyāyaṇī); Mount Abu in the Sirohi State, Rajputana.  
 Ardhanālaka—Kubjikā (v.l. Vardhamānaka).  
 Āryāvarta—Prāṇa (Mahāryā). For the Tantric Āryāvarta in the eastern U.P., see *I.C.*, VIII, p. 57.  
 Asurāntakapura—Nīla.  
 Āśusiddhipura—Nīla.  
 Āśvamedhapura—Nīla.



- Asvaprada**—Nila, Prāṇa; probably the Asvakranta hill near Gauhati in Assam.
- Asvatīrtha**—Nila, Prāṇa; at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Kālinadī near Kanauj.
- Asvattha**—Nāma (Vandanīyā).
- Aṭṭahāsa**—Jñāna; Nila (Bhīmākālī); Pīṭha (Oṣṭha—Phullarā—Viśveśa); Śiva (Upapīṭha; Oṣṭhāmśa—Phullarā—Viśvanātha); Nila, Prāṇa (Cā-muṇḍā); Prāṇa (Mahānandā—Mahānanda); near Labhpur in the Birbhum District, Bengal.
- Aujasa**, **Aurasa**—Nila, Prāṇa (Vīryadā); fictitious; but cf. Ausaja in *Viṣṇu S.*
- Avanti**—Nila, Prāṇa (Atipāvanī); the same as Ujjayinī or the country round it.
- Avantiyāsrama**—Nila, Prāṇa; probably mistake for Agastyāsrama.
- Avimukta**—Nila, Prāṇa (Viśālākṣī—Mahādeva); same as Vārāṇasī, Kāśī.
- Ayodhyā**—Rudra; Kubjikā; Nila, Prāṇa (Bhavānī); Śiva (Upapīṭha; Kaṇṭhahāra—Annapūrnā—Harihara); modern Ajodhya in the Fyzabad District, U.P.

## B

- Badarī**—Kubjikā; Nāma (Urvaśī); Nila, Prāṇa (Śrividya); same as Badarī-kāśrama (Badrinath in Gahrwal, U.P.) in the Himalayas.
- Bāhudā**—Nila, Prāṇa (Anantā); identified with the Dhumela or Burha-Rapti, a tributary of the Rapti in Oudh.
- Bahulā**—Pīṭha (v.l. Bāhūṭā; Vāmabāhu—Bahulā, Bāhulā—Bhīruka); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmabāhu—Bahulā—Bhīruka); located at Ketu-gram near Katwa in the Burdwan District, Bengal.
- Bālidāṅgā**—Caṇḍī (Dakṣiṇahasta—Rājeśvarī); in the Hooghly District, Bengal.
- Balipura**—Nila (Allā); may be the same as Mahābalipura or Mamallapuram (Chingleput District), 30 miles to the south of Madras.
- Beṇā**—Nāma (Amṛtā); the Beṇā (tributary of the Krishnā), the Pengaṅgā or the Waingāṅgā. See Veṇā.
- Bhadra**—Nāma (v.l. Bhadreśvara); Nila, Prāṇa (v.l. Bhadrāśva;—Bhadra-karnikā). See Bhadreśvara. Bhadrāśva is a mythical division of the Jambudvīpa.
- Bhadrakāleśvara**—Nila, Prāṇa (Mahābhadrā, Bhadrakālī).
- Bhadrakarnā**—Nila, Prāṇa (Bhadrakarnikā—Mahādeva); identified with Karnapura or Karnali on the south bank of the Narmada.
- Bhadreśvara**—Nāma (v.l. Bhadra;—Bhadrā, Bhadreśvarī); Nila, Prāṇa (Ramā); possibly Bhadreswar in the Hooghly District.
- Bhairava**—Nila, Prāṇa (Bhairavī—Bhairava). See Bhairavaparpvata.
- Bhairavaparpvata**—Pīṭha (v.l. Bhīruparpvata;—Oṣṭha, Ūrdhvoṣṭha—Avanti—Lambakarnā, Namrakarnā). See Bhairava; probably in West Malwa.
- Bharatāsrama**—Nāma (Aṅganā, Anaṅgā, Taraṅgā); Nila, Prāṇa (Bhagavati).
- Bhīma**—Nila, Prāṇa (Bhīmeśvarī—Bhīmeśvara). See Bhīmā under *Himādri*. The *tīrtha* may also be connected with the Bhīmā, a tributary of the Krishnā.
- Bhīruparpvata**—See Bhairavaparpvata.
- Bhṛgu**, **Bhṛgupurī**—Jñāna; Nila (v.l. Guptapura;—Vrajeśvarī); identified with Balīa in U.P. Bhṛgupura was also the name of Broach (Tawney, *Prob. Cint.*, trans., p. 136).
- Bhṛgutūṅga**—Nila, Prāṇa; a mountain in Nepal.
- Bijāpur**—Ain (Tuljā Bhavānī, Turjā Bhavānī); probably same as Pūrṇa-giri. The shrine of Bhavānī actually stands at Tuljapur near Osmanabad in the Hyderabad State.

- Bilva, Bilvaka—See Vilvala.  
 Brahmasīras—Nīla, Prāṇa (Brahmāṇī).  
 Brahmāsya—Nāma; fictitious.  
 Brahmāvarta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vrajeśvarī); in the eastern Punjab.

## C

- Caitraratha—Nāma (Madotkatā).  
 Cakradvipa—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Astra—Cakradhārīṇī—Śūlapāṇī); possibly one of the several Cakratīrthas.  
 Candanapārvata—Nīla (Mahānandā).  
 Caṇḍapura, Caṇḍipura—Nīla (Pracaṇḍā).  
 Candrabhāgā—Nāma (Kālā, Kalā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Candrabhāgā); river Chenab in the Punjab.  
 Candrapura—Jñāna; Nīla (Sitā or Asitā); possibly Chanda in C.P.  
 Candrāsthira—Jñāna (v.l. Carasthira, Carasthita).  
 Carasthira—See Candrāsthira.  
 Carasthita—See Candrāsthira.  
 Caṭṭagrāma—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha; Dakṣiṇahastārddha—Bhavānī—Candraśekhara). See Caṭṭala.  
 Caṭṭala—Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇabāhu—Bhavānī—Candraśekhara). See Caṭṭa-grāma; in the Chittagong District of East Bengal.  
 Cauhāra—Jñāna; mentioned in the short list but not in the long one; possibly a wrong reading.  
 Chāgalāṇḍa—See Chāgaliṅga.  
 Chāgalāṇḍa—See Chāgaliṅga.  
 Chāgaliṅga—Nāma (v.l. Chāgalāṇḍa, Chāgalāṇḍa;—Pracaṇḍā); Prāṇa (Bālīpriyā).  
 Chāyāchatrapura—Jñāna.  
 Chāyāpura—Nīla; a mistake for Chāyāchatrapura.  
 Citrakūṭa—Nāma (Sitā); in Bundelkhand, or less probably Chitor (Mewar).  
 Citta—Nāma; fictitious.

## D

- Dakṣa-Pañcanada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Dakṣiṇā). See Pañcanada. *Dakṣa* (from Sans. *dakṣiṇa*) means 'south'.  
 Dārukeśa—v.l. Āmrātaka. Cf. the Dvarakeswar river running through the Bankura District.  
 Dehalikū—Nīla, Prāṇa (Amba); possibly modern Delhi. But cf. Trihalikā-grāma of the *Viṣṇusamhitā*.  
 Devadāruvana—Nāma (Puṣṭi); in the region of Badrinath in the Himalayas, or modern Aundh in the Deccan.  
 Devakoṭa—Same as Devikoṭṭa.  
 Devakoṭṭa—Same as Devikoṭṭa.  
 Devakūṭa—Jñāna. Same as Devikoṭṭa.  
 Devaloka—Nāma; fictitious.  
 Devidaikoṭha—Rudra. See Devikoṭṭa.  
 Devikāṭata—Nāma (Nandīnī); river Devikā is the modern Deeg in the Punjab.  
 Devikoṭa—See Devikoṭṭa.  
 Devikoṭṭa—Jñāna; Kālikā (Pada—Mahābhāgā); Nīla (Akhileśvarī); modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District, Bengal. Same as Devakoṭṭa, Devakoṭa, Devakūṭa, Devikūṭa, Devidaikoṭha.  
 Devikūṭa—Kālikā; see Devikoṭṭa.  
 Drāviḍa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Sarasvatī); the Tamil country in southern India.  
 Durgā—Nīla, Prāṇa; a tributary of the Sabarmati in Gujarat.



Dvāravatī—Nāma (Rukmiṇī); Nila, Prāṇa; modern Dwarka in north-western Kathiawar.

## E

Ekāgra—v.l. Ekāmra.

Ekāmra—Jñāna; Nāma (Kirtimatī); Nila (Ekā); modern Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa.

Elāpura—Jñāna; Nila, Prāṇa (Virā); Nila (Mahāsampat); modern Ellora in the Hyderabad State.

## G

Gaṇaksetra—Nila, Prāṇa (Maṅgalā—Prapitāmaha); probably the same as Gaṇeśvara.

Gaṇḍaka—Same as Gaṇḍakī.

Gaṇḍakī—Pīṭha (Gaṇḍa—Gaṇḍakī—Cakrapāṇi); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha; details as in Pīṭha); river Gaṇḍakī is a tributary of the Ganges which it meets near Bakhtyarpur in the Patna District, Bihar.

Gandhamādana—Nāma (Kāmākṣī, Kāmukī, Kāmukā); a Himalayan peak at Badarikāśrama. In *Nāma*, verse 11, we have Gandhamādana as a v.l. for Mādhavavana, Mādhavivana.

Gaṇeśvara—Prāṇa, Nila.

Gaṅgā—Nāma (v.l. Gayā;—Maṅgalā); Nila, Prāṇa (Śivāmr̥tā); the sacred river Ganges.

Gaṅgādvāra—Nāma (Ratipriyā, Haripriyā); Nila, Prāṇa (Nārāyaṇī, Vaiṣṇavi); the same as Haridvāra, the place where the Ganges enters the plain from the Himalayas.

Gaṅgārāmācala—v.l. Gaṅgāvāmācala.

Gaṅgāsāgara—Nila, Prāṇa; near the Sāgar islands where the Bhāgīrathī enters the Bay of Bengal.

Gaṅgāvāmācala—Nila, Prāṇa (Śivā); v.l. Gaṅgāvātācala; Gaṅgārāmācala.

Gaṅgāvātācala—v.l. Gaṅgāvāmācala.

Gaṅgāvilva—Prāṇa, Nila.

Gaṅgodbheda—Prāṇa, Nila.

Gargoccheda—Nila, Prāṇa (v.l. Gaṅgodbheda).

Gauḍa—Rudra; in a narrow sense the Murshidabad District with the southern part of the present Maldah District; in a wider sense the western half or the whole of Bengal.

Gaurīśekhara—Śiva (Upapīṭha); Vasā—Yugādyā—Bhīma). Cf. Gaurīśikhara in Kāmarūpa (Pīṭha).

Gautameśvara—Nila, Prāṇa; possibly one of the places called Gautamāśrama.

Gayā—Nāma (v.l. Gaṅgā;—Maṅgalā); Nila, Prāṇa (Gayeśvari); Aṣṭādaśa (Māṅgalyakotikā); the celebrated city in Bihar.

Ghaṇṭākarna—Kubjikā.

Ghāṭasilā—Caṇḍī (Vāmapada—Rukmiṇī; actually *Raṇikīṇī*); a place between Kharagpur and Tatanagar or Jamshedpur on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

Giri—Tantrasāra; part of the name Merugiri wrongly regarded as a separate name.

Godāśrama—Nāma (v.l. Godāvarī, Kubjāmra;—Trisandhyā). See Godāvarī.

Godāvarī, Godāvaritīra—Kubjikā; Pīṭha (Vāmagāṇḍa—Viśveśī, Rākiṇī—Viśveśa, Daṇḍapāṇi, Vatsanābha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmagāṇḍa—Viśvamātrikā—Viśveśa); Nila, Prāṇa (Gayeśvari); the celebrated river of the Deccan. See Godāśrama, Saptagodāvara.

Gokarna—Jñāna; Nāma (Bhadrakarnikā, Kālikā); Nila, Prāṇa (Bhadrā—Mahābala); Nila (Sarvamaṅgalā); modern Gendia about 30 miles from Goa.

Gomanta—Nāma (Gomati); located in the Goa region.

Gomati—Nila, Prāṇa (Vimukti); one of the many rivers of this name.

Gorakṣacāriṇī—See Gorakṣakāriṇī; cf. the *tīrtha* called Gorakṣa on the Gomanta. Another Gorakṣa is the town of Gorkha, 53 miles to the west of Katmandu in Nepal. Cf. also Gorakhpur in U.P.

Gorakṣakāriṇī—Kubjikā (v.l. Gorakṣacāriṇī).

Govardhana—Kubjikā; Nila, Prāṇa (Ambikā); near Nasik in the Bombay Presidency.

## H

Haṃsatīrtha—Nila, Prāṇa; possibly connected with Haṃsamārga (probably Haṃsadvāra or the Niti Pass in Kumaon; identified with modern Hunza and Nagar; cf. *JUPHS*, XVII, pp. 48-49) in the Himalayas.

Haratīrtha—Nila, Prāṇa (Gaviśvarī); probably the same as Harakṣetra or Bhuvanesvar.

Haridrā—Nila; may be the same as Haridvāra.

Haridvāra—Śiva (Mahāpītha:—Jathara—Bhairavi—Vakra); Prāṇa, Nila. See Gaṅgādvāra.

Hariścandra—Nāma (v.l. Harmacandra;—Candrikā); Nila, Prāṇa (Subheśvari).

Hārīta—Nila, Prāṇa (Harinākṣī); probably the same as Hārītāśrama near Udaipur in Rajputana.

Harmacandra—Nāma (v.l. Hariścandra);

Haroccheda, Harodbheda—Prāṇa, Nila.

Hastinapura—Jñāna; Nāma (Jayantī); Nila (Rājeśvarī Mahālakṣmī); in the Meerut District, U.P.

Hayagrīva—Kubjikā (v.l. Akṣayagrīva).

Hayakṣetra—Aṣṭādaśa; probably the same as Hayagrīva.

Hemakūṭa—Nāma (Manmathā); the Varṣapārvata lying to the north of the Kimpuruṣaṇḍa; that is situated to the north of the Himavat and the Bhāratavarṣa; apparently a part of the northern Himalayas.

Himādri—Nāma (Bhimā); cf. Bhīmāsthāna near Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar District) of the Mahābhārata. See Himālaya, Himavat.

Himālaya—Nila (Pārvatī). See Himavat, Himādri.

Himavat—Nāma (Nandā, Mandā). The Nandāsthāna is different from the Bhīmāsthāna and is no doubt the same as the celebrated Nandādevī peak in the Garhwal District, U.P. See Himādri, Himālaya.

Hiṅglāja—Caṇḍī (Nābhi; the Devīnāma is doubtful); same as Hiṅgulā; on the Aghor or Hingool river in Baluchistan.

Hiṅgulā, Hiṅgulāta—Kubjikā; Rudra; Pīṭha (Brahmarandhra—Kottari, Kottavi, Kottariśā—Bhīmalocana); Śiva (Mahāpītha;—Brahmarandhra—Kottari—Bhīmalocana); Prāṇa; same as Hiṅglāja (Hinglaj) in Baluchistan where the goddess is locally called Bibi Nānī.

Hiranyākṣa—Nāma (v.l. Kamalākṣa;—Mahotpalā).

Hiranyapura—Jñāna; Nila (Suvarṇā); modern Herdoun or Hindaun in the Jaipur State, about 70 miles from Agra.

Hṛṣīkeṣa—Kubjikā; on the Ganges, about 24 miles to the north of Hardwar on the way to Badrinath.

## I

Ilānta—Nila.

Ilodayagiri—Nila.



Indirāpura—Nila.  
 Indrānandapura—Nila.  
 Indrāṇī—Nila.  
 Indranila—Nila, Prāṇa (Mahākānti); cf. the Himalayan peak Indrakīla mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.  
 Indriśvara, Indriśvarīpura—Nila.  
 Indumatī—Nila, Prāṇa (Pūrṇimā).  
 Indupura—Nila.  
 Induvatīpura—Nila. Same as Indumatī.  
 Induvijayapura—Nila.  
 Irāvati—Nila, Prāṇa (Ī); river Rāvi in the Punjab.  
 Īśāna—Nila.  
 Īśānyaiśapura—Nila.  
 Iṣṭhanābha—Nila, Prāṇa (Svāyambhuvā—Svayambhū).  
 Iṣṭapura—Nila.  
 Īśvara—Nila.  
 Īśvarayoga—Nila.

## J

Jāhnavisaṅgama—Nila, Prāṇa (Trṇpti, Svadhā); Jāhnavi is another name of the Ganges, while *Saṅgama* indicates a confluence. But the confluence referred to here cannot be determined.  
 Jāhnavitāṭa—Nila (Vijayā). Jāhnavi is another name of the Gaṅgā.  
 Jājpur—See Yājapura (Jahājapura in the *Aṣṭādaśa*), Yāgapura, Virajā, Utkala; in the Cuttack District, Orissa. See also Nabhigayā.  
 Jālandhara—Hevaja; Kālikā (in the north;—Caṇḍī—Mahādeva); Kālikā (Stanadvaya;—Caṇḍī); Rudra; Jñāna; Kubjikā; Nāma (Viśvamukhī); Nila (Nāgarī, Jvālāmukhī), Pīṭha (Stana—Tripuramālīni, Tripuranāśīni—Bhīṣana); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmastana—Tripuramālīni—Bhīṣana); in the Punjab. 'Ain speaks of the goddess at Nāgarkot-Kangra as Jālandharī which is the same as Jvālāmukhī. The *Anandārṇava* gives the name of the Pīṭha as Jālandhra. The Jālandhara Pīṭha is now located near Jvālāmukhī.  
 Jālandharagiri—Same as Jālandhara.  
 Jālandhra—See Jālandhara.  
 Jālaśaila—Same as Jālandhara.  
 Jaleśvara—Jñāna; in the Balasore District, Orissa.  
 Janasthāna—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha) and Pīṭha (Civuka—Bhrāmari—Vikṛta, Vikṛtākṣa); on the Godāvarī in the Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. V.l. Jalasthala.  
 Japyeśvara—Nila, Prāṇa (Trisūlinī—Trisūlin); probably the same as Jalpeśvara in the Jalpaiguri District, Bengal.  
 Jayanta—Nila, Prāṇa (Jayantī); probably the same as Jayantī.  
 Jayantā—Same as Jayanti.  
 Jayanti—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha) and Pīṭha (Vāmajaughā—Jayanti—Kramadīśvara); in the Sylhet District, Assam (now East Pakistan). See Jayanta, Jayantā, Jayantikā.  
 Jayantikā—Jñāna. See Jayanti.  
 Jayapura—Nila (Jayā); may be Jaipur in eastern Rajputana.  
 Jvālā—Aṣṭādaśa (Vaiṣṇavi); possibly Jvālāmukhī is intended.  
 Jvālāmukhī—Kubjikā; 'Ain; Nila, Prāṇa; Pīṭha (Jihvā—Siddhidā, Ambikā—Unmatta); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Jihvā—Ambikā—Vatakeśvara, Unmatta); in the Kangra District, Punjab.  
 Jvalantī—Rudra; probably the same as Jvālāmukhī.  
 Jyotiṣsara—Prāṇa, Nila.

## K

- Kailāsa—Jñāna; Nīla (Bhuvaneśvarī); in the Himalayas.
- Kālamādhava—Pīṭha (Nīlamba—Kālī—Asitāṅga); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmanitamba—Kālī—Asitāṅga). See Mādhava.
- Kālambakubja—Nīla, Prāṇa; represented as a combination of two names.
- Kālāñjara—Nāma (Kālī); Nīla, Prāṇa (Kālī—Nilakanṭha); in the Banda District, U.P.
- Kāleśvara—Jñāna (v.l. Kāmeśvara); cf. *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*, verses 10 and 40 (*I.*., VIII, p. 33ff.).
- Kālighāṭa—Pīṭha (Muṇḍa—Jayadurgā—Krodhīśa, Krodheśa); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇapādāṅguli—Kālī—Nakuleśa). *Pīṭha* refers to the *devāsthāna* at Juranpur near Katwa (Burdwan District), while *Śiva* speaks of the more important Kalighat in the southern suburb of Calcutta. For the same confusion see Kālīpīṭha. In the original part of *Pīṭha*, Kalighat is referred to as Kālīpīṭha. See also Kālighaṭṭa.
- Kālighaṭṭa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Guhyakālī); Nīla (Kālī); same as Kālighāṭa.
- Kaliṅga—Rudra; the Puri-Ganjam region in a narrow sense, but often it indicated the whole coast land down to the Godavari in the south.
- Kālīpīṭha—Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇapādāṅguli—Kālī—Nakuleśa, Nakulīśa); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Śiroma—Caṇḍeśvarī—Caṇḍeśvara). See Kālighāṭa, Kālīghaṭṭa.
- Kālīpura—See Kanyāpura.
- Kālōdaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kālī).
- Kāmāgiri—Pīṭha (in Kāmarūpa;—Mahāmudrā or Yoni—Kālī—Umānanda, Śivānanda, Rāvānanda, Rāmānanda); near Gauhati in Assam. See Kāmarūpa, which is also called Kubjikā Pīṭha in the *Kālikā P.*
- Kāmakōṭa, Kāmakōṭī, Kāmakōṭṭa—Jñāna; Nīla (Kāmeśvarī).
- Kamalā—Kubjikā. See Kamalālaya.
- Kamalākṣa—Nāma (v.l. Hiraṇyākṣa).
- Kamalālaya—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kamalākṣī—Kamalākṣa).
- Kāmarūpa—Hevajra; Nīla, Kālikā (in the east;—Kāmeśvarī—Kāmeśvara; Kālikā (Yoni—Kāmākhyā); Sādhana; 'Ain; Rudra; Jñāna; Kubjikā; Ānandārṇava; Caṇḍī (Madhyadeśa—Kāmarūpa—Kāmākhyā); Pīṭha (see Kāmāgiri); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Yoni—Kāmākhyā, Nilapārvatī—Rāvānanda, Umānanda). *Pīṭha* associates the Gaurīśikhara with this place, while *Kālikā* places the *sthānas* of Dikkaravāsini and Lalitakāntā in the Kāmarūpa country which corresponds to the Gauhati District of Assam and the adjoining region. The temple of Kāmākhyā stands on the Nilakūṭa or Nilapārvata, called the Kāmarūpa-parvata by Rājasekhara in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. This blue hill is the same as Kāmāgiri.
- Kāmeśvara—Jñāna (v.l. Kāleśvara); cf. Kāmeśvaranātha at Karon in the Balia District, U.P. Kāmeśvara and Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) were tutelary deities of the ancient kings of Assam (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Intro., p. 32, n. 2).
- Kāmodaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Kālōdaka).
- Kāmraj—'Ain (Śārādā); in Kashmir. The reference is to modern Sardi.
- Kanakāmarapārvata—Same as Meru, Amarapārvata.
- Kanakhala—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śraddhā); Prāṇa (Śivagrā—Ugra); near Haridvāra (Hardwar).
- Kāñci—Rudra; Nīla, Prāṇa (Kanakakāñci); Pīṭha (Kaṅkāla—Devagarbhā—Ruru); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Kaṅkāla—Vedagarbhā—Ruru). The earlier references are to modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District, Madras; but some late works (composed in Bengal) possibly speak of a locality on the Kopāi in the Birbhum District, Bengal.



- Kāñcīkāpurī**—**Aṣṭādaśa**. The name is the same as **Kāñcī**.
- Kaṇvāśrama**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (v.l. **Kanyāśrama**); possibly one of the several places associated with the name of **Kaṇva**.
- Kānyakubja**—**Jñāna**; **Nāma** (**Gaurī**); **Nīla** (**Brahmāñi**); in the **Farrukhabad District, U.P.**
- Kanyāpura**—**Nīla** (v.l. **Kālipura**;—**Kanyā**); see **Kaṇvāśrama**, **Kanyāśrama**.
- Kanyāśrama**—**Pīṭha** (**Prśṭha**—**Sarvāñi**—**Nimīṣa**); located in eastern India at **Kumārikunḍa** near the **Kumira railway station** in the **Chittagong District**.
- Kapālamocana**—**Nāma** (**Śuddhi**). One of the several places known by this name in different parts of India.
- Karatoyātata**—**Pīṭha** (**Vāmakarṇa**, **Talpa**—**Aparṇā**—**Vāmana**, **Vāmeśa**); **Śiva** (**Mahāpīṭha**;—**Vāmakarṇa**—**Aparṇā**—**Vāmeśa**). The **Pīṭha** is located at **Bhavānīpura** near the bank of the **Karatoyā** in the **Bogra District, North Bengal**.
- Karavira**, **Karavirapura**—**Nāma** (**Mahālakṣmī**); **Pīṭha** (v.l. **Śarkarāra**;—**Trinetra**—**Mahīsamardini**—**Krodhīśa**, **Krodheśa**); **Prāṇa** (**Satī**); the capital of **Brahmāvarta** and on the **Dṛṣadvatī** in the **Eastern Punjab** according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*; but usually identified with **Kolhapur** (called **Karvir**) in the **South Maratha country**.
- Karkoṭa**—**Nāma** (v.l. **Mākoṭa**); modern **Karra**, about 40 miles north-west of **Allahabad**; according to local tradition, **Satī's hand** fell at this place.
- Karnasūtra**—**Kubjikā**. See **Karnatīrtha**.
- Karnatīrtha**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**. See **Karnasūtra**.
- Kārttikeya**—**Nāma** (**Yaśaskarī**, **Śaṅkarī**, **Atiśaṅkarī**); possibly modern **Baijnath** near **Almora** in the **Kumaon District, U.P.**
- Kāśī**—**Kubjikā**; **Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Annapurṇā**); in **U.P.** Same as **Vārāṇasī**, **Avimukta**. **Vaṃśīdāsa** connects it with **Satī's keśa**.
- Kāśmīra** (**Kāśmīr**)—**Jñāna**; **Nāma** (**Medhā**); **Aṣṭādaśa** (**Sarasvatī**); 'Ain (see **Kāmraj**); **Śiva** (**Mahāpīṭha**) and **Pīṭha** (**Kaṇṭha**—**Mahāmāyā**—**Trisandya**, **Trisandhyeśvara**).
- Kāṭaka**—**Śiva** (**Upapīṭha**;—**Carmāṃśa**—**Kāṭakeśvari**—**Vāmadeva**); modern **Cuttack** in **Orissa**.
- Kaulagiri**—**Jñāna**; same as **Kolvagiri**.
- Kauśiki**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**; river **Kosi** running through **Nepal** and **Bihar**.
- Kavari**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa**; same as **Kāveri**.
- Kāveri**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Kapileśvari**); river in the **Tamil country** in **Southern India**. See **Kavarī**.
- Kāyāvarohaṇa**—**Nāma** (**Mātā**); also called **Kāyavatāra**, associated with the tradition of **Nakulīśa**, an incarnation of **Śiva**; same as **Kārvān** in the **Dabhoi Taluk** of the **Baroda State**.
- Kedāra**—**Jñāna**; **Nāma** (**Mārgadāyini**); **Nīla** (**Vāradā**); **Prāṇa**; in the **Himalayas**. See **Kedāreśvara**.
- Kedāreśvara**—**Nīla**, **Prāṇa** (**Sanmārgadāyini**). See **Kedāra**.
- Keśajāla**—**Pīṭha** (v.l. **Vṇḍāvana**); **Śiva** (**Upapīṭha**;—**Keśa**—**Umā**—**Bhūteśa**). See **Vṇḍāvana**. The name is apparently due to a textual confusion.
- Kirīṭa**, **Kirīṭakonā**—**Pīṭha** (**Kirīṭa**—**Bhuvaneśī**, **Vimalā**—**Siddhirūpa**, **Samvarta**); **Śiva** (**Upapīṭha**;—**Kirīṭa**—**Bhuvaneśī**—**Kirīṭin**); **Prāṇa** (**Kirīteśvari**). The *tīrtha* is located at **Vaṭanagara** near **Lālbaḡ** in the **Murshidabad District, Bengal**.
- Kiśkindhyaparvata**—**Nāma** (**Tārā**); in the modern **Hyderabad State**, or modern **Kekind** in the **Jodhpur State**.

- Kokāmukha—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Kōk or Kuksi—Kokeśvari—Kokeśvara); modern Barāhchhatra (Varāhakṣetra) on the Kauśikī in Nepal.
- Kolvagiri—Jñāna; possibly modern Coorg or Koḍagu which means 'steep mountains' (Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.*, trans., p. 364 n.); but more probably it has to be identified with Kolāpura or Kolhapur (*I.C.*, VIII, p. 49). See Kaulagiri, Karavira, Mahālakṣmī.
- Koṭa—Nāma (v.l. Mākoṭa), possibly Koṭatīrtha at Kalanjar.
- Kotimudrā—Rudra; possibly same as Koṭitīrtha.
- Koṭitīrtha—Nāma (Koṭavī); one of the several places of this name.
- Kṛṣṇabenyā (Kṛṣṇabenṇā)—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhedinī); river Krishna running through the Deccan.
- Kṛtaśauca—Nāma (Sinhikā).
- Kṣīragrāma—Kubjikā; Caṇḍī (Pīṭha—Yogādya); Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇapādāṅguṣṭha—Yugādya—Kṣīrakhaṇḍa, Kṣīrakhaṇṭha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇapādāṅguṣṭha—Yogādya—Kṣīrakhaṇḍa). See Kṣīrikā; modern Khirgram near Katwa in the Burdwan District, Bengal.
- Kṣīrapura—Nīla (Yugādya, Kṣīrā); same as Kṣīragrāma.
- Kṣīrikā—Jñāna. See Kṣīragrāma.
- Kubjāmṛaka—Nāma (v.l. Godāvari, Godāśrama); near Hṛṣikeśa in the Himalayas; the same as Kanakhala according to some authorities.
- Kulānta—See Kūpānta.
- Kumāra, Kumārādhamā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Kaumari); possibly the same as Cape Comorin.
- Kumuda—Nāma (v.l. Mukuṭa;—Satyavādinī).
- Kuñcapaṭṭana—Aṣṭādaśa (Cāmuṇḍā); a mistake for Krauñca° (Banavasi).
- Kūpānta—Jñāna (v.l. Kulānta).
- Kurukṣetra—Kubjikā; Nīla, Prāṇa (Śivā—Sthānu); Prāṇa (Aruṇekṣaṇā, Rāṇekṣaṇā); Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇagulpha—Sāvitrī—Sthānu); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇagulpha—Saṃvari, Vimalā—Saṃvarta); near Thanosar in the eastern Punjab.
- Kuśadvīpa—Nāma (Kuśodakā); one of the seven mythical Dvīpas of the world; cf. Kusa, the old Persian name of Ethiopia. See Kuśāvarta.
- Kuśāvarta—Nīla, Prāṇa; a tank at Tryambak near Nasik or a Ghat at Hardwar.

## L

- Lagnikāśrama—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly a mistake for Nagnikāśrama.
- Lakṣmaṇoccheda, Lakṣmaṇodbheda—Prāṇa, Nīla.
- Lalitā, Lalitāpura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Lalitā); possibly Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P.
- Laṅkā—Aṣṭādaśa (Śaṅkarī); Śiva (Upapīṭha) and Pīṭha (Nūpura—Indrākṣī—Rāksaseśvara); modern Ceylon, but the *Aṣṭādaśa* makes separate mention of Laṅkā and Sīṃhaladvīpa. The word *laṅkā*, means 'an island' and may indicate any island in the sea or a river.
- Liṅga—Nīla, Prāṇa (Liṅgavāhinī); Nīla (Bhairavī).

## M

- Madanta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Madantī).
- Madantikā—Nīla, Prāṇa.
- Mādhava—Kubjikā. See Mādhavavana, Mādhavivana, Kālamādhava.
- Mādhavavana—Nāma (v.l. Mādhavivana, Gandhamādana;—Sagandhā); probably the same as Madhuvana or Mathurā. See Mādhava.
- Mādhavivana—See Mādhavavana.
- Madhupurī—Rudra; Kubjikā; same as Mathurā (Muttra) in U.P.
- Mathurā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Devakī, Mādhavī); same as Mathurā.



- Madreśvara—See Bhadreśvara; cf. Madra in the Sialkot region of the Punjab.
- Magadha, Māgadha—Rudra; Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇajaṅghā—Sarvānandamayī—Vyomakeśa); modern Patna-Gaya region in South Bihar.
- Mahābala—Prāṇa (Prabalā); possibly owing to confusion with Mahāvana.
- Mahābodhi—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahābuddhi); modern Bodhigayā (possibly *Bodhigayā*) in the Gaya District, Bihar.
- Mahāgaṅgā—Nīla, Prāṇa; the river Alakanandā in the Himalayas.
- Mahākālā—Nāma (Maheśvarī); Prāṇa (Mahākālī—Mahākālā); cf. god Mahākālā at Ujjain.
- Mahākarna—Kubjikā.
- Mahālakṣmī, Mahālakṣmīpura—Jñāna; Nīla (Ambikā); possibly the same as Kolhapur where stands the great shrine of the goddess Mahālakṣmī. But the *Jñānārṇava* makes a distinction between Kolvagiri and Mahālakṣmī. See Karavīra, Kolvagiri.
- Mahālaya—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahābhāgā—Rudra); Nāma (Mahābhāgā, Mahāpadmā); same as Ōṅkāranātha or Amareśvara.
- Mahāliṅga—Nāma (Kopilā).
- Mahānāda—Nīla, Prāṇa (Māheśvarī).
- Mahānadi—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahodayā); the celebrated river running through Orissa.
- Mahānala—Prāṇa, Nīla.
- Mahāpathapura—Nīla (Māheśvarī); possibly a mistake for Maheśvarapura.
- Mahātīrtha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahodari); Nīla, Prāṇa (Hamsēśvarī).
- Mahāvana—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhadra, Bhadrakālī, Bhadreśvarī); the same as Purāṇa-Gokula, six miles from Mathurā.
- Mahāviṣṇupada—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly the same as Viṣṇupada.
- Mahendra, Mahendrapura—Jñāna; Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahāntakā—Mahāntaka); Nīla (Jagadīśvarī); the celebrated peak in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The records of the Gaṅga kings speak of Śiva Gokaṇḍeśvara on the Mahendra.
- Maheśvarapura—Nāma (Svāhā); same as Māhiṣmatī, Māheśvarapura, Māheśvarīpura; modern Maheśvara in the Indore State, C.P.
- Māheśvarapura—See Maheśvarapura.
- Maheśvarīpura—See Maheśvarapura.
- Māhiṣmatī—Kubjikā; modern Maheśvara in the Indore State or less probably Mandhātā in the Nimar District, C.P.
- Māhvara—Aṣṭādaśa (Ekavīrakā). See Sahyādri.
- Maināka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Akhilavardhini); one of the several peaks or mountains of this name.
- Makarandaka—See Amarakaṇṭaka.
- Mākota—Nāma (v.l. Koṭa, Karkoṭa;—Mukuteśvarī, Maṅgaśvarī); Nīla, Prāṇa (Muṇḍakeśvarī—Mahākota).
- Mālava—Jñāna (v.l. Mānava); Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Malini;—Raṅgini); Nīla (v.l. Mānava;—Mahāvidyā); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmajānu—Śubha-  
candī—Tāmra); modern Malwa, the eastern part of which was known as Ākara or Daśārṇa with its capital at Vidiśa, and the western part as Avanti or Aparā-Mālava with its capital at Ujjayini. Cf. Mānava, Mānasa, Malaya.
- Malaya—Nāma (Rambhā); Nāma (v.l. Mānasa;—Kalyāṇī); cf. Mānasācala. Malaya has been identified with the southern part of the Western Ghats to the south of the Nilgiri.
- Mānava—Jñāna (v.l. Mālava).
- Mānasācala—Nāma (v.l. Malayāchala;—Kalyāṇī).

- Mānasasarovara—Nāma (Kumudā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Gaurī); Pīṭha (Dakṣina-hasta—Dākṣāyaṇī—Hara, Amara); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇahas-tārḍha, Vāmahasta—Dākṣāyaṇī—Hara); the source of the Śatadru (Satlej) in the Himalayas.
- Maṇḍaleśvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Khāṇḍavi—Śaṅkara); Prāṇa (Karavīrā—Acaleśvara).
- Mandara—Nāma (Kāmacārīṇī); Prāṇa (Bhuvaneśvarī); the Mandār hill in the Bhagalpur District, Bihar, or a mythical mountain in the Western Sea (Arabian Sea).
- Māṇḍavya—Nāma (v.l. Māṇḍava;—Māṇḍavi, Maṇḍukī); same as Māṇḍa-vyapura (modern Mandor) in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana.
- Maṅgalakota, Maṅgalakotara (\*koṭṭaka)—Nīla, Prāṇa (Maṅgalā); at the junction of the Ajay and Kunur in the Burdwan region.
- Maṇibandha—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmamanibandha—Gāyatrī—Śaṅkara, Śaivāṇa); Pīṭha (see Maṇiveda); the name seems to have been created out of a confused text.
- Maṇikarpikā (at Vārāṇasī)—Pīṭha (Kuṇḍala—Viśālākṣī—Kāla). See Vārāṇasī (modern Benares) in U.P.
- Mānikī—Aṣṭādaśa; probably a wrong reading.
- Maṇipura—Kubjikā; possibly a place in the Manipur State in eastern India is indicated.
- Maṇiveda—Pīṭha (Maṇibandha—Gāyatrī—Sarvānanda); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇamanibandha—Śaivitrī—Sthānu); possibly the same as Maṇi-pura.
- Marakaṅkata—See Amarakaṅkata.
- Māruteśa, Māruteśvara—Jñāna; Nīla.
- Mātaṅga—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mātaṅgī); same as Mātaṅgavāpī, modern Mātaṅ-gāśrama at Bakraur on the Phalgu, opposite Bodhgaya in the Gaya District, Bihar.
- Mātaṅgavāpī—Nīla, Prāṇa; same as Mātaṅga.
- Mathurā—Nāma (Devakī). See Madhurā, Madhupurī; modern Muttra in U.P.
- Mātṛdarśa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jaganmātā).
- Mātṛgana—Nāma (fictitious); Nīla, Prāṇa.
- Māyā—Nīla, Prāṇa. See Māyāpurī, Māyāvati, Māyāpura.
- Māyāpura—Jñāna; Nīla (Māyā). See Māyā, Māyāpurī, Māyāvati; the Haridvāra (Hardwar) region.
- Māyāpurī—Nāma (Māyāvati). See Māyā, Māyāpura, Māyāvati.
- Māyāvati—Rudra; Kubjikā; same as Māyā, Māyāpura, Māyāpurī, i.e. the Hardwar region.
- Meghavana—Nīla, Prāṇa (Meghasvanā).
- Mehāca—*Sarvānandatarāṅgiṇī*; a small Pargana in the Tippera District, East Bengal.
- Mekhalā—Rudra; Mekalā, capital of Mekaladeśa in the Amarkantak region. Cf. also Mekliganj in the Coch Bihar State, Bengal.
- Meru—Tantṛasāra; Nīla (v.l. Amarapārvata;—Svargalakṣmī); same as Merugiri.
- Merugiri—Jñāna; a mythical mountain; same as the mythical Sumeru, often identified with the Hindukush.
- Mithilā—Rudra; Pīṭha (Vāmaskandha—Umā—Mahodara); Śiva (Mahā-pīṭha;—Vāmaskandha—Mahādevī—Mahodara); modern Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai.
- Mukuta—Nāma (v.l. Kumuda).



Muṇḍapṛṣṭha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śivā); the Brahmayoni hill at Gayā, particularly its portion containing the Viṣṇupada temple.  
 Muṇiśvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Suddhabuddhi).

## N

- Nābhigayā—Same as Gayānābhi or Jājpur (Orissa). Vamśidāsa connects it with Satī's navel.  
 Nāḍavata—Prāṇa, Nīla.  
 Nāgapurī—See Yāgapurī.  
 Nāgarakota-Kangra—'Ain (Jālandharī, probably the same as Jvālāmukhī); Caṇḍī (Mastaka—Jvālāmukhī); same as Jvālāmukhī.  
 Nāgarasambhava—Kubjikā. See Nāgarasambhava.  
 Nāgarasambhava—Same as Nāgarasambhava.  
 Nāgatīrtha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Surasā).  
 Naimiṣa—Nāma (Liṅgadhārīṇī). See Naimiṣāranya.  
 Naimiṣāranya—Nīla, Prāṇa (Prajñā, Liṅgadhārīṇī—Maheśvara); Prāṇa (Sukathā); modern Nimkhar or Nimsar and Misrikh regions in the Sitapur District, U.P. See Naimiṣa.  
 Naipāla—Same as Nepāla.  
 Nalāhātī—Pīṭha (Nalā—Kālī—Yogeśa, Yogīśa); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Śīrānālī—Śephālīkā—Yogīśa); identified with Nalahati in the Birbhum District, Bengal.  
 Nalasthāna—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Dakṣiṇagaṇḍāṃśa—Bhrāmarī—Virūpākṣa); probably Nalahati mentioned separately.  
 Nandapura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahānanda); possibly the same as Nandipura.  
 Nandatāṭa—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Nandavata; Mahānanda); possibly a mistake for Nandātāṭa. For an Ānandā Mahāpīṭha, see *Skand P.*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, Dharmāranyakhaṇḍa, ch. 37, v. 62.  
 Nandavata—See Nandatāṭa.  
 Nandipura—Pīṭha (Hāra—Nandini—Nandikeśvara); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Hārāṃśa—Nandini—Nandikeśvara); near Sainthia in the Birbhum District, Bengal.  
 Nārikela—Kubjikā; cf. Nārikeladvīpa mentioned in literature and such localities as Nārikeldāṅgā (near Calcutta) in Lower Bengal.  
 Narmadā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Narmadā); Pīṭha (v.l. Sona;—Nitamba—Śonā—Bhadrāsena); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇanitamba—Śonākṣī—Bhadrāsena); the celebrated river rising from the Amarkantak and falling into the Gulf of Cambay.  
 Narmadoccheda, Narmadodbheda—Nīla, Prāṇa (Dārūṇā).  
 Nepāla, Naipāla—Kubjikā; Jñāna; Nīla (Punyadā); Pīṭha (Jānu—Mahāmāyā—Kapālī); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇajaṅghā—Mahāmāyā, Navadurgā—Kapālī); the reference may be to Katmandu, the capital of Nepal.  
 Nilācala, Nilaparvata—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vimalā); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Ucchiṣṭa—Vimalā—Jagannātha). See Virajā, Utkala. The reference seems to be to the Purī temple (said to be on the Nīla mountain) in Orissa, although; but there was another Nilaparvata in Kāmarūpa from which Kāmākhyā was called Nilapārvatī.  
 Nilavāhīnī—Kubjikā.

## O

- Odḍiyāna—Same as Uḍḍiyāna.  
 Oḍḍiyāna—Same as Uḍḍiyāna.  
 Oḍra—modern Orissa, but sometimes confused with Odḍiyāna in the Swat valley.

Oghavati—Nila, Prāṇa (Mahāvidyā); the river Apagā (a branch of the Chitang) running by Thanesar and Pehoa in the Eastern Punjab.  
 Ōṅkāra—Nila (Gāyatrī); Jñāna (possibly v.l. Praṇava); modern Ōṅkāreśvara or Ōṅkāranātha, i.e. the island of Mandhata in the Narmadā (32 miles north-west of Khandwa) in the Nimar District, C.P.

## P

Pampāsaras—Nila, Prāṇa (v.l. Pañcāpsaras;—Śāraṅgā); near modern Hampe in the Bellary District, Madras.  
 Pañcakati—wrong reading for Pañcavati.  
 Pañcanada—See Dakṣapañcanada.  
 Pañcāpsaras—Nila, Prāṇa; located differently by different writers.  
 Pañcasāgara—Śiva (Mahāpītha) and Pītha (Adhodanta—Vārāhi—Mahārudra); possibly the oceans are indicated, although their traditional number was four or seven. But cf. Pañcatīrtha.  
 Pañcatīrtha—Nila, Prāṇa; near Hardwar.  
 Pañcavati—Nila, Prāṇa (Tapasvinī). See Janasthāna in which Pañcavati was situated.  
 Pāṇḍu—Nila, Prāṇa (Pāṇḍarānā); possibly the same as the Pāṇḍya country in the southern corner of India.  
 Paramēśvarapura—Nila (v.l. Śamaneśvarapura).  
 Pārasya—Nila (Paramānanda); Persia.  
 Pārāta—Nāma (v.l. Pārāvāratira); Pārā is the same as the Pārvatī in Malwa.  
 Pārāvāratira—Nāma (v.l. Pārāta;—Mātā, Pārā, Pāvā).  
 Pātala—Nila, Prāṇa (Pātalesvari); possibly Pātaliputra (near modern Patna) or Pātana (Patna < *Pattana*) is indicated.  
 Pātāla—Nāma Paramēśvari); possibly Pātala is indicated, but is reminiscent of the region of Patalene, the ancient city and district, located by classical writers about the mouths of the Indus.  
 Paṇḍravardhana—Jñāna, Nila (Suveśā); same as Puṇḍra, Puṇḍravardhana.  
 Payoṣṇī—Nāma (Piṅgalesvari); probably the river Paisuni, a tributary of the Jumna between the Ken and the Tons.  
 Piṇḍāraka—Nāma (Dhṛti); Prāṇa; 16 miles to the east of Dvārakā in Kathiawar. See Piṇḍarakavana.  
 Piṇḍarakavana—Nila, Prāṇa (Dhanyā). See Piṇḍāraka.  
 Piṅgā—Prāṇa, Nila.  
 Piyālamārga—Prāṇa, Nila.  
 Prabhāsa—Nāma (Puṣkarāvati); Nila, Prāṇa (Īśvari); Nila, Prāṇa (Sura-pūjitā); Nila, Prāṇa (Puṣkarekṣaṇā—Somanātha); Pītha (Udara, Adhara—Candrabhāgā—Vakratuṇḍa); Śiva (Mahāpītha;—Adhara—Candrabhāgā—Vakratuṇḍa); modern Somnath in the Junagarh State, Kathiawar.  
 Prabhāsakhaṇḍa—Śiva (Mahāpītha;—Marma—Siddhīśvari—Siddhīśvara); probably in the Prabhāsa region, or one of the other two Prabhāsas near Kuruksetra or Kauśāmbī.  
 Pradyumna—Aṣṭādaśa; probably Pandua in the Hooghly District.  
 Prapaṇa—possibly the same as Ōṅkāra.  
 Prapā—Nila, Prāṇa (Pāpanāśinī).  
 Prasaṅga—Prāṇa, Nila.  
 Prayaḡa—Kubjikā; Jñāna; Rudra; Aṣṭādaśa (Mādhavēśvari); Nila (Trivenī?); Nāma (Lalitā); Pītha (Hastāṅguli—Lalitā—Bhava); Śiva (Mahāpītha;—Dvi-hast-āṅguli—Kamalā—Veṇīmādhava); modern Allahabad in U.P. The temple of Veṇīmādhava lies at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.



- Prthūdaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahāvegā); modern Pehoa in the Karnal District, Punjab.
- Puṇḍra—Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Loma—Sarvākṣiṇī—Sarva). See Puṇḍravardhana.
- Puṇḍravardhana—Nāma (v.l. Punyavardhana;—Pātālā); same as Puṇḍra, Paundravardhana; identified with modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District, Bengal.
- Puṇyādri—Nīla (v.l. Puṣyādri;—Mahāpunyā); possibly the same as Pūrṇagiri.
- Punyavardhana—Same as Puṇḍravardhana. For this form of the name, see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 185.
- Puraścandra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Puresvari).
- Purasthira—Jñāna (v.l. Purasthita).
- Purasthita—Jñāna (v.l. Purasthira).
- Pūrṇa—Same as Pūrṇagiri.
- Pūrṇagiri—Hovajra; Kālikā (in the south;—Pūrṇesvari—Mahānātha); Kālikā (Skandhagrivā—Pūrṇesvari); Sādhana; Jñāna; Rudra; probably located by the 'Ain in the Bijapur region of the Bombay Presidency. Same as Pūrṇa, Pūrṇasaila. The name may not be unconnected with that of the Pūrṇa (modern Paira), a branch of the Godavari. The *Ānandārṇava* gives the name of the Pīṭha as Pūrṇabhūdhara.
- Pūrṇasaila—Same as Pūrṇagiri.
- Puruṣottama—Nāma and Prāṇa (Vimalā); same as Puri in Orissa.
- Puṣkara—Nāma (Puruhūtā); Prāṇa (Kamalākṣi); Prāṇa (Purahūtā—Rājagandhi); near Ajmer in Rajputana.
- Puṣpatīrtha—Nāma (v.l. Uṣpatīrtha); possibly connected with the Puṣpagiri in the Malaya range.

## R

- Rāḍha, Rāḍhā—Rudra; Nīla, Prāṇa (Maṅgalacaṇḍi); in a narrow sense, the land watered by the Ajay in the Burdwan District, Bengal.
- Rājabolahāṭa—Caṇḍi (Vāmahasta—Viśālalocaṇi); near Serampur in the Hooghly District, Bengal.
- Rājagiri—Pīṭha (v.l. Rāmāgiri); possibly a form of Rājagṛha. Cf. Rājapārvata.
- Rājagṛha—Jñāna; modern Rajgir in the Gaya District, Bihar.
- Rājapārvata—Nīla; probably the same as Rājagiri.
- Rāmā—Nāma (fictitious).
- Rāmāgiri—Kubjikā; Nāma (Trisandhyā); Pīṭha (v.l. Rājagiri;—Stana, Nāśa, Nalā—Śivānī—Caṇḍa); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇastana—Śivānī—Caṇḍa); possibly modern Ramtek near Nagpur in C.P., or Chitrakūṭa in the Banda District, U.P.
- Ramaṇa, Ramaṇaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Durgā).
- Rāmatīrtha—Nāma (Ramaṇā); Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahādhṛti); the ancient Rāmatīrtha in Sūrpāraka (modern Sopara) in the Thana District, Bombay, although in this case Rāmāgiri may be indicated.
- Rāmeśvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Prabhā); Prāṇa (Mahāsiddhi); the celebrated Śetubandha Rāmeśvara in the Ramnad District, Madras. See Śetubandha. Another Rāmeśvara lies at the confluence of the Banas and the Chambal.
- Rāmocheda, Rāmodbheda—Prāṇa, Nīla.
- Rapakhaṇḍa—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇakaphoni—Bahulākṣi—Mahākāla); possibly the same as Bahulā separately mentioned.
- Rāsavyṇḍāvana—Nīla, Prāṇa (Rādhā). See Vṇḍāvana.

Ratnāvali—Pīṭha (v.l. Ratnavatī;—Dakṣiṇaskanda—Kumārī—Śiva); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇaskandha—Śivā—Śiva); possibly the same as the city of Ratnavatī mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, but may also be a locality in Bengal. Ratnāvali is the name of a sacred tributary of the Vāgmātī in Nepal.

Ratnavatī—See Ratnāvali.

Rṇamocana—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vimukti).

Rudrakotī—Nāma (Rudrāṇī, Kalyāṇī); either the *tīrtha* of this name in Kurukṣetra, or that near the source of the Narmadā.

## S

Sāgarasaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Svāhā); possibly the same as Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama.

Sahasrākṣa—Nāma (Utpalā, Utpalākṣī).

Sahyādri—Nāma (Ekavirā).

Śakamtharīpura—Nīla, Prāṇa; modern Sambhar near Pushkar.

Śālagrāma—Nāma (Mahādevī); at the source of the river Gaṇḍakī or Gaṇḍak.

Śāligrāma—Same as Śālagrāma.

Śamaneśvarapura—Nīla (v.l. Parameśvarapura;—Mahāvrajeśvarī).

Sambheda—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śubhavāsini); supposed to be about the mouth of the Indus.

Samhāra—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Dantāpśa—Śūreśī—Śūreśa); apparently due to a textual corruption (cf. *Pīṭha*, verse 39 and notes).

Śaṅkhasaṅgharaṇa—Prāṇa; same as Śaṅkhoddhāra.

Śaṅkhoddhāra—Nāma (Dhvani, Dharā); the island of Baṭi (Beyt) at the south-western extremity of the Gulf of Cutch.

Santāna—Nāma (Lalitā).

Saptagodāvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śrī, Akhileśvarī); at Solangipur, 16 miles from Pithapuram in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.

Saptārci—Nīla, Prāṇa; possibly the same as Guptārci at Viṣṇupada, or Saptārśa (Satara) in the south Maratha country.

Śāradā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śāradā); modern Sardi in Kashmir.

Sarasvatī—Nāma (Devamātā); Nīla, Prāṇa; river in the eastern Punjab running by Pehoa.

Sarayū, Sarayūtīra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śāradā); the celebrated river running through Ōudh, now called Ghagra or Gogra.

Śarīrin—Nāma (fictitious).

Śarkara—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Trinetra—Mahiśamardini—Krodhīśa); same as Śarkarāra.

Śarkarāra—Pīṭha (v.l. Karavira); identified with Sukkur in Sindh.

Sarvasaila—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Kakṣāṁśa—Viśvamātā—Daṇḍapānī); a vague reference to 'all hills'.

Śaṣṭhīpura—Nīla (Śaṣṭhī).

Śatadru—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śatarūpā); river running through the Punjab; now called Satlej.

Satī—Nāma (fictitious).

Saticala—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Karāṁśa—Sunandā—Sunanda).

Setubandha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Rāmeśvarī). See Rāmeśvara, Śvetabandha.

Siddhapura—v.l. Siddhavaṭa; either Siddhaur near Barabanki in U.P. or Sīdpur about 64 miles from Ahmedabad; but may also be one of the several Siddhāśramas.

Siddhavana—v.l. Siddhavaṭa.



- Siddhavata—Nāma (v.l. Siddhavana, Siddhapura;—Mātā Lakṣmī, Umā Lakṣmī).
- Siddhitīra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Siddhidā).
- Siṃhala, Siṃhaladvīpa—Kubjikā (v.l. Siṃhanāda); Rudra; Aṣṭāśa; modern Ceylon.
- Siṃhanāda—Kubjikā (v.l. Siṃhala).
- Sindhusaṅgama—v.l. Śoṇasaṅgama. Sindhu is the Indus running through north-western India to the Arabian Sea.
- Sirihaṭṭa—See Śrihaṭṭa.
- Śivacaṇḍa—v.l. Śivakuṇḍa.
- Śivakuṇḍa—Nāma (v.l. Śivakuñja, Śivacaṇḍa;—Śivānandā, Śubhānandā, Sunandā, Sabhānandā).
- Śivakuñja—v.l. Śivakuṇḍa.
- Śivaliṅga—Nāma (Jalapriyā).
- Śivapīṭha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Jvālāmukhī).
- Śivasannidhi—Nāma (fictitious).
- Someśvara—Nāma (Varārohā); possibly the same as Somanātha or Prabhāsa in Kathiawar.
- Śoṇa—Pīṭha (v.l. Narmadā;—Nitambā—Narmadā—Bhadrāsena); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Nitambāmsa—Bhadra—Bhadreśvara); Prāṇa (Kāpakeśvari); celebrated tributary joining the Ganges near Patna in Bihar.
- Śoṇasaṅgama—Nāma (v.l. Sindhusaṅgama;—Subhadra); the reference may be to the Śoṇa-Gaṅgā-Saṅgama near Patna.
- Śrīgiri—Nīla, Prāṇa (Śrī); same as Śrīśaila.
- Śrihaṭṭa—Sādhana (v.l. Sirihaṭṭa); Pīṭha (v.l. Śrīśaila); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Grīvā—Mahālakṣmī—Sarvānanda); modern Sylhet in Assam.
- Śrīparvata—Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇakarna—Sundarī—Sundarānanda, Sunandā—nanda); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇakarna—Sundarī—Sundarānanda); Prāṇa (Śaṅkarī—Tripurāntaka). See Śrīśaila.
- Śrīpīṭha—Jñāna; possibly the same as Śrihaṭṭa.
- Śrīpura—Nīla (Śrīramā); possibly Sirpur in the Raipur District, C.P.
- Sthala—Nīla, Prāṇa (Sthālā—Sthala).
- Sthāneśvara—Same as Sthānviśvara.
- Sthāṇu—meant for Sthānviśvara according to a wrong reading in Prāṇa.
- Sthānviśvara—Nāma (Bhavānī); modern Thanesar in the Ambala District, Punjab.
- Strirājya—Rudra; associated with the land of the Nu-wangs in eastern Tibet, who are said to have been ruled by a woman styled Pinchiu. The Strirājya is usually located in the Kumaon-Garhwal region of the Himalayas. Hiuen Tsang seems to locate a western Strirājya about Makran (Walters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 257).
- Subhadra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhavyā); cf. the name Subhadra applied to the Irawadi.
- Śuci—Pīṭha (v.l. Anala;—Ūrdhavadanta—Nārāyaṇī—Saṃkrūra, Saṃhāra); cf. Supārśva.
- Sugandhā—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha) and Pīṭha (Nāsikā—Sunandā—Tryambaka); Prāṇa; modern Shikarpur on the Sondha (Sugandhā) near Barisal in South Bengal.
- Śuklatīrtha, Śukratīrtha—Prāṇa (Śraddhā); near Broach in Gujarat.
- Suparna—Nīla, Prāṇa (Utpalā—Sahasrākṣa); possibly the source of the Tons (Tamasā), tributary of the Jumna.
- Supārśva—Nāma (Nārāyaṇī); cf. Śuci.
- Svargamārga—Nīla, Prāṇa (Svargadā).

Svargoccheda, Svargodbheda—Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahārātri).  
 Svetabandha—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Bhagnāṃśa—Jayā—Mahābhīma); apparently a mistake for Setubandha.

## T

- Tailaṅga—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Lomakhaṇḍa—Caṇḍadāyikā—Caṇḍeśa); Telengana or the present Telugu speaking area in the Deccan. Dey, *G.D.*, s.v. Trilinga, said to be first mentioned in Rājasekhara's *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*.  
 Tamolipta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Tamoghni); modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District, Bengal. Other old forms of the name were Tāmrālipta, Tāmrālipti, Dāmalipta, etc.  
 Tantra—Nīla, Prāṇa (Gautameśvari).  
 Tārā—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Netrāṃśatārā—Tāriṇi—Unmatta); identified with Tarapur near Nalahati in the Birbhum District, Bengal. See Ugratārā.  
 Tirotā—Pīṭha (v.l. Trisrotā); but it is a corruption of *Trihuta* in Śiva, though the latter form itself is a corruption of Sanskrit *Tirabhukti*.  
 Tīrthasaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Saṅgamā).  
 Traipura—v.l. Tripura.  
 Trihuta—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmapada—Amari—Amara); Tīrhut (Sanskrit *Tirabhukti*) indicating the northern part of Bihar. See Tirotā.  
 Trikūṭa—Nāma (Bhadrāsundari, Rudrasundari); the mythical peak of Ceylon on which the city of Laṅkā was supposed to have been situated. There was another Trikūṭa in the northern Konkan.  
 Tripada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Caṇḍā); possibly Tirupati (Tripadi; but really Sans. *Śrīpati*) is indicated.  
 Tripura—Nīla (Sundari); probably the same as Tripurā, and not Tewar near Jubbulpore.  
 Tripurā—Kubjikā; Pīṭha (Dakṣiṇapada—Tripurā, Tripurasundarī—Nala, Tripureśa, Tripurākṣa); Śiva (Dakṣiṇapada—Tripurā—Nala); the Tripurā (Hill Tipperah) State in Bengal. Udayapura or Rāṅgāmāṭi (modern Rādhākīśorapura), old capital of Tripurā, is indicated.  
 Trisrotā—Jñāna; Pīṭha (v.l. Tirotā;—Vāmapada—Bhrāmari, Amari—Īśvara, Amara); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇajānu—Caṇḍikā—Sadānanda); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Padāṃśa—Pārvatī—Īśvara, Bhairaveśvara); the river Tista running through northern Bengal. Śiva mentions Trisrotā both as a Mahāpīṭha and as an Upapīṭha.  
 Trivenī—Kubjikā; either the Yuktavenī near Allahabad or more probably the Muktavenī near Calcutta.

## U

- Uddinapura—Nīla; probably a mistake for Uddiśa or Uddiyāna.  
 Uddiśa—Jñāna; same as Odra from Sanskrit *Oḍraṇiṣaya*, Prakrit *Oḍḍaviśa*, *Oḍḍaiśa*; modern Orissa (*Oḍiṣā*).  
 Uddiyāna, Uddiyāna—Hevajra; Kālikā (in the west;—Kātyāyāni—Jaganātha); Kālikā (Urudvaya;—Kātyāyāni); Rudra; Jñāna; Kubjikā; land watered by the river Swat in north-western India, but sometimes confused with Odra (Orissa).  
 Udiyāna—Same as Uddiyāna.  
 Ugratārā—Vamśidāsa connects it with Satī's eyes. See Tārā.  
 Ujāni—Pīṭha (v.l. Ujjayini, Urjani, Ujjani); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Vāmapāphoni—Maṅgalacaṇḍi—Kapilāmbara); modern Kogram in the Burdwan District, Bengal.



Ujjani—See Ujāni, Ujjayini.

Ujjayini—Jñāna; Aṣṭādaśa (Mahākālī); Nīla; Pīṭha (v.l. Ujāni, Ujjani, Urjani;—Kūrpara—Maṅgalacandī—Kapilāmbara); modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State; but see also Ujāni.

Urjani—See Ujāni, Ujjayini.

Uṣnatīrtha—Nāma (v.l. Puṣpatīrtha;—Abhayā).

Utkala—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Nābhi—Vijayā—Jaya); Aṣṭādaśa (Virajā); roughly speaking another name of Oḍra or Orissa. See Virajā.

Utpalāvartaka—Nāma (Lolā); cf. the name of Utpalāvati, a river (modern Vyapar) in the Tinnevely District, Madras, and that of Utpalāvata or Utpalāranya (modern Bithoor) near Cawnpore, U.P.

Uttarā—Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Vāmagandāśa—Uttarīni—Utsādana); possibly the Uttaragā or Rāmgangā in Oudh.

Uttarakuru—Nāma (Auśadhi, Ośadhi); a Himalayan tract, often supposed to have included the northern part of Garhwal.

Uttaramānasa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Nīlā); the Ganga lake at the foot of the Harmuk peak in Kashmir, or a sacred place at Gayā.

## V

Vāgmatī—Kubjikā; river in Nepal, whose junctions with the Maradārikā, Maṇisrohiṇī, Rājamañjarī, Ratnāvalī, Cārumatī, Prabhāvatī and Trivenī form respectively the Śānta, Śaṅkara, Rājamañjarī, Pramodā, Sulakṣaṇa, Jaya and Gokarṇa *tīrthas*; also old Tista (*Hist. Beng.*, II, p. 10).

Vaidyanātha—Kubjikā; Nāma (Arogā, Ārogyā); Pīṭha (Hṛdaya—Jaya—durgā—Vaidyanātha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Hṛdaya—Jayadurgā, Navadurgā—Vaidyanātha); modern Deoghar-Baidyanāthdhām in the Santal Parganas District, Bihar.

Vaiśravaṇālaya—Nāma (fictitious).

Vaivasvata—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Prśṭha—Tripuṭā—Śamanakarman, Nīmiṣa).

Vakranātha—Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Manas—Pāpaharā—Vakranātha); possibly the same place is referred to in Śiva as both Vakreśvara and Vakranātha (cf. double mention of Trisrotā). See Vakreśvara. For Pāpaharā as the name or an epithet of the river at Vakreśvara, see Pīṭha, v. 50.

Vakreśvara—Pīṭha (Manas—Mahiṣamardini—Vakranātha); Śiva (Mahāpīṭha;—Dakṣiṇabāhu—Vakreśvari—Vakreśvara); near Dubrajpur in the Birbhūm District, Bengal.

Vāmana—Jñāna; probably Vāmanasthali (Banthali) near Junagarh, Kathiawar.

Vaṅga—Rudra; originally the land watered by the mouths of the Ganges, but later south-east Bengal.

Varāhaparvata, Varāhaśaila—Nāma (Jayā); Nīla; Prāṇa (Vārāhi); either Baramula in Kashmir, or Barahchhatra in Nepal.

Vārāhi—Kubjikā; cf. Varāhaparvata.

Vārāṇasī—Rudra; Aṣṭādaśa (Viśālākṣī); Nīla; Nāma (Viśālākṣī); Pīṭha (see Maṇikarṇikā); Śiva (Upapīṭha;—Kuṇḍala—Viśālākṣī, Annapūrnā—Kālabhairava, Viśveśvara); modern Benares in U.P.

Vardhamāna—Kubjikā; possibly Burdwan in Bengal. But see Dey, *G.D.*, s.v.

Varenya—Prāṇa (v.l. Aranya;—Sandhyā—Ūrdhvaretas).

Vasīṣṭhatīrtha—Nīla, Prāṇa (Arundhati); on Mount Abu in the Sirohi State, Rajputana, or on Mount Sandhyachal near Gauhati in Assam, or a place near Ayodhya.

Vastrapada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Bhuvaneśvari—Bhava); possibly a mistake for Vastrāpatha (modern Gīrnar) in Kathiawar, although the Vastrapā

- or Vastrāpada country seems to be located in the Mahābhārata (II, 48, 14; III, 80, 108) in the north-west.
- Vastrośvara—Nāma (v.l. Viśvesvara;—Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi); possibly the same as Vastrāpatha or Gīrnar in Kathiawar. See Vastrapada.
- Vaṭaparvatikā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Pañcavargā); mentioned in a Pāla record and in Vijayarāma Sena's *Tīrthamaṅgala* (second half of the 18th century) and identified with the Vaṭeśvaraparvata situated near Pātharghātā in the Patna District, Bihar (*Bhāratavarṣa*, Jyaisṭha, B.S. 1350, p. 405).
- Vaṭiparvatikā—Wrong reading of Vaṭaparvatikā.
- Vedamastaka—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vedamātā); same as Vedaśīras.
- Vedaśīras—Nīla, Prāṇa; same as Vedamastaka.
- Vedavadana—Nāma (fictitious).
- Vedeśa—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vedadā); possibly Vaidīśa or Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State) is indicated.
- Vegala—Nāma (v.l. Chāgaliṅga, Chagalaṇḍa, Chāgalaṇḍa).
- Venā—See Beṇā.
- Venumatī—Nīla, Prāṇa (Punṇā).
- Vibhāsa—Pītha (Vāmagulpha—Bhīmarūpā—Kapālī, Sarvānanda); Śīva (Mahāpītha;—Vāmagulpha—Bhīmarūpā—Kapālī); near Tamluk in the Midnapur District, Bengal.
- Vidyāpura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vidyā); probably the same as Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara (modern Hampe) in the Bellary District, Madras. Vidyānagara was possibly also a name of Rajahmundry or of a place near it in the Godavari District. Another Vidyānagara is supposed to be modern Bijaynagar at the confluence of the Sindh and the Para, 25 miles below Narwar.
- Vijayā—Prāṇa, Nīla.
- Vijayanta—Nīla, Prāṇa (Aparājītā).
- Vilvaka—Nāma (v.l. Vilvala;—Vilvapatrikā); Nīla (Rupinī); Prāṇa. See Bilvaka.
- Vilvala—See Vilvaka.
- Vimalā—Kubjikā.
- Vimaleśvara—Nīla, Prāṇa (Viśvā—Viśva); cf. the name of Vimalagiri (modern Palitana), a Jain *tīrtha* in Kathiawar.
- Vināyaka—Nāma (Umā, Rūpā); one of the eight Vināyaka *tīrthas* in the Bombay Presidency, viz. Ranjangaon, Margaon, Theur, Lenadri, Ojhar, Pali, Madh and Siddhatek.
- Vindhya—Kubjikā; Nāma (Vindhyavāsini); Jñāna; Śīva (Mahāpītha;—Vāmapadāṅguli—Vindhyavāsini—Punjabhājana). The temple of Vindhyavāsini lies at Bindhyachal near Mirzapur in U.P. See Vindhya-kandara, Vindhyaṅgāsaṅgama.
- Vindhyaṅgāsaṅgama—Nīla, Prāṇa (Vindhyavāsini). See Vindhya.
- Vindhya-kandara—Nāma (Amṛtā, Nitambā, Mrgī); different from Bindhyachal near Mirzapur; cf. Vindhya.
- Vipāśā—Nāma (Amoghākṣī); Nīla, Prāṇa (Mahābalā); modern Beas, a tributary of the Sindhu or Indus.
- Vipula—Nāma (Vipulā).
- Viraja, Virajapura, Virajā, Virajākṣetra in Utkala—Kubjikā; Jñāna; Nīla; Pītha (Nābhi—Vimalā, Vijayā—Jagannātha, Jaya); modern Jāipur on the Vaitarani in the Cuttack District, Orissa. See Utkala, Yāga-purī, Jāipur, Yājapura, Nābhigayā.
- Virāta—Pītha (Padāṅguli—Ambikā—Amṛta, Amṛtākṣa). The ancient Virāta country lay in the Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajputana; but another country of that name was placed by late-medieval writers in northern Bengal (*I.C.*, VIII, p. 54).



Viśālā—Nīla, Prāṇa (Viśālā); possibly Viśālā-Badari or Badarikāśrama in the Himalayas.

Viṣṇupada—Nīla, Prāṇa (Guptārci); Prāṇa (Viṣṇupriyā); probably the hill of that name at Gayā in Bihar. For another Viṣṇupada, see *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 277.

Viśveśvara—Nāma (Viśvā, Vilvā).

Vṛndāvana—Piṭha (v.l. Keśajāla;—Keśa—Umā—Bhūteśa); Nāma (Rādhā); modern Brindaban near Mathurā (Muttra) in U.P. See Rāsavṛndāvana.

Vyāghrapura—Nīla, Prāṇa (Hara); possibly the same as Buxar (really Vyāghrasaras) in the Shahabad District, Bihar.

## Y

Yāgapurī—Nīla, Prāṇa (v.l. Nāgapurī;—Virajā); same as Virajā, Yāgapura, Jājpur, Nābhigayā.

Yājapura—Caṇḍi (Dakṣinapada—Virajā). See Virajā, Yāgapurī, Utkala, Jājpur. The Assia range about a mile to the south of Jājpur in the Cuttack District, Orissa, is said to have borne the name Catuspiṭha-parvata.

Yamunā—Nāma (Mṛgāvati); Nīla, Prāṇa (Kāliṇḍī); modern Jumna, the principal tributary of the Ganges.

Yaśora—Piṭha (Pāṇi—Yaśoreśvari—Caṇḍa); Śiva (Upapiṭha;—Pāṇi—Yaśoreśvari—Pracaṇḍa); modern Jessore in Bengal, although the Piṭha is located at Īśvaripura (Khulna District) not far from Hasanabad in the 24-Parganas District.

Yugādyā—Piṭha (v.l. Kṣiragrāma).

## APPENDIX VI

### *Śiva and Śakti in the Orthodox Indian Pantheon.*

The age covered by the composition of the Rgvedic hymns is considerably wide (between *circa* 1400 B.C. and 1000 B.C.). It is therefore no wonder, considering the popularity of the union of Aryan males with non-Aryan females, that the speech as well as the social and religious life of the Aryan peoples began to be modified as early as that age.<sup>1</sup> Attention

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'The ideas of *Karma* and transmigration, the practice of *Yoga*, the religious and philosophical ideas centering round the conception of the divinity as Śiva and Devī and as Viṣṇu, the Hindu ritual of *Pūjā* as opposed to the Vedic ritual of *Homa*—all these and much more in Hindu religion and thought would appear to be non-Aryan in origin; a great deal of Puranic and epic myth, legend and semi-history is pre-Aryan; much of our material culture and social and other usages, e.g. the cultivation of some of our most important plants like rice and some vegetables and fruits like the tamarind and the cocoanut, etc., the use of the betel-leaf in Hindu life and ritual, most of our popular religions, most of our folk crafts, our nautical crafts, our distinctive Hindu dress (the *Dhotī* and the *Sāḍī*), our marriage in some parts of India with the use of vermilion and turmeric—and many other things—would appear to be legacy from our pre-Aryan ancestors' (S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 31). 'The Austrie tribes of India appear to have belonged to more than one group of the Austro-Asiatic section—to the Kōl, to the Khasi and to the Mon-Khmer groups. They were in the neolithic stage of culture and perhaps in India they learned the use of copper and iron. They brought with them a primitive system of agriculture in which a digging stick (*\*lag*, *long*, *\*ling*—various forms of an old word *\*lak*) was employed to till the hillside. Terrace cultivation of rice on hills, and plains cultivation of the same grain were in all likelihood introduced by them. They brought, as the names from their language would suggest, the cultivation of the cocoanut (*nārikela*), the plantain (*kodala*), the betel vine (*tāmbula*), the betel-nut (*guvāka*), probably also turmeric (*haridrā*) and ginger (*śrīṅgavera*), and some vegetables like the brinjal (*vāṭīṅgana*) and the pumpkin (*alābu*). They appear not to have been cattle-breeders—they had no use for milk, but they were the first people to tame the elephant, and to domesticate the fowl. The habit of counting by twenties in some parts of North India (cf. Hindi *koṭī*,



may be drawn in this connection to the borrowing of the cerebral consonantal sounds from non-Aryan speech, to the speedy modification of the R̥gvedic god Rudra and to the germ of theism, a non-Aryan institution later completely absorbed in Indian (i.e. mixed Aryan-aboriginal) religious life, to be traced possibly in the reference in the *R̥gveda* (I, 22, 20) to the *Sūris* (meaning 'sectarian devotees of the god Viṣṇu' according to later works) as a class favoured by Viṣṇu. It is, however, interesting to note that, while the pre-Aryan Father-god was in the process of amalgamation with Aryan Rudra even in the early Vedic period, the absorption of the pre-Aryan Mother-goddess in the orthodox Indian religious life of later days took a considerably longer period of time.

The objects unearthed at the prehistoric (circa 2750 B.C.) sites of the Indus Valley prove the prevalence of the cult of the Father-god and Mother-goddess among the pre-Aryan peoples of India. The Mohenjodaro people worshipped a male god who may be regarded as the proto-type of Śiva. He is represented as seated in the *Yoga* posture, surrounded by animals, and has three visible faces with two horns on two sides of a tall head-dress. The ithyphallic (*ūrdhva-līṅga*) characteristic is also very marked. This apparently explains the later conception of Śiva as a *Yogin*, styled *Paśupati*, his *Līṅga* being specially important and his special attributes being the three eyes and the trident, probably associated respectively with the three faces and the two horns together with the head-dress. Some stone pieces looking exactly like the Śiva-līṅga have actually been discovered at Mohenjodaro. The *Līṅga* of the Father-god or Creator was worshipped apparently as a symbol not only of creation but also of virility. See Banerjea, *Dev. H. Icon.*, pp. 174ff.

The objects found at Mohenjodaro include many figurines of the Mother-goddess and point to the wide prevalence of her cult. Such figurines, discovered from prehistoric as well as later sites in different parts of India, are usually nude, but wear a peculiar head-dress, a wide girdle and a quantity of jewellery. A prehistoric terracotta seal from Harappa contains a representation of the same goddess who is shown upside down with her legs wide apart and a plant issuing from her womb and with a pair of tigers (cf. the association of the lion with the Indian Mother-goddess) towards the left, standing facing each other. The fundamental idea of the Mother-goddess cult was the belief in a female energy as the source of all creation. The Indus valley people appear to have also worshipped the *Yoni* as the symbol of this goddess just as they adored the *Līṅga* of the Father-god. Certain objects discovered at Mohenjodaro have their upper and lower surfaces undulating, while in some others the lower surface is flat but the upper one takes a quatre-foil form. Marshall regards these as representations of the *Yoni*, the female organ of generation symbolizing motherhood and fecundity. *Yoni*-rings of later date have been found from other sites. Certain disc-like objects, usually with well-carved decorative designs, have been found at old sites like Taxila and Rajghat and have been associated with the *Yoni* cult. See *op. cit.*, pp. 183ff.

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Bengali *kudī*, 'score, twenty' from the Austric) appears to be the relic of an Austro-Asiatic habit. The later Hindu practice of computing time by days of the moon (*tithis*) seems also to be Austric in origin' (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). The 'notion of Brahman, the Supreme Spirit beyond the conception of the manifest gods, dwelling in the void by itself and creating the world out of itself, through its will or desire, can be looked upon as an Austric contribution in the evolution of Indian thought' (Chatterji in *Bhāratavarmudī*, I, p. 206). India's script and architecture and the caste system are also pre-Aryan. For the contributions of the non-Aryans to Indian culture, see also *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, ed. P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1929.



The *R̥gveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3) refers in a deprecatory manner to a class of people called *Sisnadeva*. Whether they were Aryan (under the influence of an aboriginal cult) or non-Aryan in origin cannot be determined; but there is no doubt that at least the orthodox section of the *R̥gvedic* Aryans disapproved of the phallic cult. The *R̥gvedic* Rudra (literally, 'the howling one'), essentially the spirit of stormy clouds, was conceived as discharging brilliant shafts and killing men and cattle with his weapons as well as with diseases (I, 114; VII, 46). The giver of diseases was sometimes also regarded as the healer of them (I, 43, 4, etc.). Rudra's interesting epithet *Paśupa* (I, 114, 9) seems to point to his rapprochement with the pre-Aryan deity worshipped at Mohenjodaro even as early as the later *R̥gvedic* age when some people also spoke of his 'universal sovereignty' (VII, 46, 20). In the *Śatarudriya* section of the *Yajurveda* (*Taittirīya*, 4, 5, 1; *Vājasaneyi*, 16), Rudra's benign form is distinguished from his malignant appearance and he is called the heavenly physician, the god lying on the mountains (*Giriśa*), the wearer of matted hair (*Kapardin*), and the lord of paths, forests, cattle, forest-tribes and outcasts, thieves and robbers. He is also called *Śarva* (archer), *Bhava* (benign), *Śaṃbhu* (beneficent), *Śiva* (auspicious) and the wearer of tiger-skin. Thus the conception of a terrible destroyer as quite its opposite resulted from partially an attempt at appeasement by flattery and partially perhaps from his gradual amalgamation with the pre-Aryan Father-god. The Rudras, in the plural, are called *Gaṇa* (a tribe) and leaders of tribes (*Gaṇapati*) and of workmen, potters, cartmen, carpenters and *Niśādas* who belonged to proto-Australoid forest-tribes. The *Atharvaveda* (cf. IV, 28; VI, 93, 2; VII, 87, 1; XI, 2, 1; XV, 5) refers to *Bhava* (called *Rājan*, the archer and the protector of the *Vṛātyas* or outcasts), *Paśupati*, *Ugra*, *Rudra*, *Mahādeva* and *Īśāna* as distinct forms of the god. *Śarva* and *Bhava*, called *Bhūtapati* and *Paśupati*, are desired to remove their deadly poison to other places. In the *Sūlagava* sacrifice mentioned in the *Grihyasūtras* (*Āśvalāyana*, 4, 9), a bull was sacrificed to appease Rudra outside the limits of a village. This shows that the god was not exactly within the orthodox pantheon apparently owing to his association with non-Aryan tribes. He is called by the names *Hara*, *Mṛḍa*, *Bhīma* and *Śaṅkara*, and one is directed to adore Rudra at the time of traversing a path and a crossing of four roads, of passing by a heap of dung and a creeping serpent, of being overtaken by a tornado and of coming to a variegated scene, a sacrificial site and an old tree (*Hiranyakeśin*, 1, 5, 16; cf. *Pāraskara*, III, 15). The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (cf. Chs. III-IV), which is earlier than the *Bhagavadgītā* (circa third century B.C.) and contains speculations approaching closely the Bhakti cult of later days, calls the god *Bhagavat*, the Great Soul and also *Maheśvara* in whose power stands *Māyā* and *Prakṛti*. It is also said that, knowing *Śiva* who is minuter than the minute, the creator and protector of the universe, the one having many forms and the one alone encompassing the world and concealed in all beings, men (*Brahmāṇis*) become free from all nooses and attain eternal peace. The god is further said to be the one unchangeable principle that existed before creation. The earliest exposition of the *Pāśupata* doctrine is found in the *Atharvasiras Upaniṣad* (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., p. 159) which is, however, not a very ancient work. The *Śiva-bhāgavatas* of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (originally composed in the second century B.C.), under *Pāṇini*, V, 2, 76, were apparently followers of the *Pāśupata-vrata* mentioned in this *Upaniṣad*. Thus the pre-Aryan Father-god, amalgamated with Vedic Rudra, gradually came to be, as Rudra-śiva, a great force in the composite religious life of India long before the birth of Christ, although



even in later times often his non-Aryan origin and association were remembered and pointedly mentioned (cf. the legend about the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, *supra*, p. 6). This shows that the influence of Śiva, worshipped by the pre-Aryans, was strong enough to overcome the reluctance of the orthodox Aryan element and to occupy a front seat in the Indo-Aryan pantheon in spite of opposition.

The pre-Aryans appear to have conceived the Mother-goddess as the wife of the Father-god; but, in the Vedic literature, the Mother-goddess is rarely referred to.<sup>1</sup> The *Yajurveda* (cf. *Taittiriya*, I, 8, 6) mentions Ambikā as Rudra's sister. In connection of the Sūlagava sacrifice in honour of Rudra, the *Gṛhyasūtras* speak of the 'wife of Bhava' (*Hiraṇyakaśin*, II, 3, 8) apparently as a subordinate deity. Sometimes Rudrāṇī, Sarvāṇī and Bhavāṇī are mentioned side by side (*Pāraskara*, III, 8). The *Kena Upaniṣad* gives a story in which Umā Haimavatī (daughter of the Himavat) disclosed the nature of Brahman (probably Śiva) to the gods (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 158). But she is not called Rudraśiva's wife. Ambikā's mention as Rudra's spouse in the interpolated tenth section of the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (X, 18) is of course very late. Thus in the age covered by the Vedic literature, when the non-Aryan Father-god was considerably near the front rank in the orthodox Indian pantheon, the worship of the Mother-goddess does not appear to have been popular with the higher classes of the society. Even if she made any progress towards recognition, that was possibly as a subordinate to her husband Śiva. This may have been due mainly to the fact that the cult of the Mother-goddess as such was originally unknown to the Aryans who were moreover a patrilineal people unlike the matrilineal aboriginals. Even in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Liṅga cult was becoming widely popular among the people of different classes (although the phallic emblems were gradually being made symbolical by removing their earlier realistic character which was apparently disliked by the orthodox) and when the appearance of *Ommo* (*Umā*—from the Dravidian *Amma* meaning the universal mother) on the coin of Huvīṣka proves that the Mother-goddess cult became an important factor in Indian religious life, Śakti seems to have been subordinated to Śiva by the upper classes of people who moreover practically ignored the worship of *Yoni* as the symbol of the Mother-goddess. Certain *tīrthas* containing *Yoni* tanks are no doubt mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*; but the worship of *Yoni* is prescribed only in the late-medieval *Tantra*<sup>2</sup> works which were also not favoured universally by all classes of the society. This particular cult was specially disliked by the orthodox upper classes.

The representation of the bull, i.e. Śiva in his theriomorphic form, on an Indo-scythian coin of about the beginning of the Christian era, that of

<sup>1</sup> Her influence is slightly noticed in the conception of Vedic Aditi (spirit of the boundless sky), described as the mighty mother of the Ādityas and as associated with Dakṣa. See Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, sect. 41. But she is a minor deity of the Vedic pantheon and was gradually forgotten with the development of the Dakṣa-yaṇī-Haimavatī conception of the Mother-goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the late-medieval work *Bṛhadharma* P., II, 1, 38.

योनिः साक्षात् भगवतो लिङ्गं साक्षाद्देवः ।

तयोस्तु पूजनेन स्यात् सर्वदेवतपूजनम् ॥

Also देवीं वर्तुं भगविकां (II, 10, 53); देवीं कुर्यादोन्निरुपां सैव देवो प्रकीर्तिता (II, 27, 32).

See also सर्वास्तु खलु नारीषु समाधिष्ठानमुत्तमम् ।

कुमारौषु च सर्वास्तु युवतीषु विद्येततः ।

आसां योनिं स्ननं दद्यात् प्रथमेष्वासनुत्तरम् ॥ (II, 11, 99-100).



Śiva in his anthropomorphic form such as on the pre-Christian Ujjain coins and on those of Gondophernes and the Kuṣāṇas belonging to the first and second centuries A.D. (the ithyphallic characteristic of Śiva or Harihara being apparent on a coin of Huviṣka), the discovery from all parts of India of innumerable symbolical phallic emblems of Śiva dating from about the beginning of the Gupta age (although certain realistically made Liṅgas such as that of Gudimallam and their representation on coins such as those from Ujjain have been assigned to dates prior to the beginning of the Christian era), the description of an exceptionally large number of Indian rulers of all parts of the country as exclusive devotees of Maheśvara or Śiva in records dating from the first century A.D. (cf. *Sel. Ins.*, I, pp. 125, 331, 387, 394, 419f., etc.), the mention of ten generations of Pāsupata ācāryas in a Mathurā inscription of 381 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 269ff.) and the evidence of the epics and the Purāṇas show beyond doubt that Śiva's status at least in the early centuries of the Christian era was practically the same as it is today in the religious life of India. See *Dev. H. Icon.*, Chs. IV-V. But the case of Śakti, in spite of her growing popularity with different classes of people as suggested by Huviṣka's coin, seems to have been different. The evidence of certain later sections of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* like the *Mārkaṇḍeya* no doubt shows that the Mother-goddess, conceived as the wife of Śiva, was nearing the front rank about the age of the imperial Guptas. But even in the period following this age we very often find her associated and apparently subordinated to Śiva. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the adoration of Kāmeśvara and Mahāgauri in the early-medieval records of some kings of Kāmarūpa (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Intro., p. 32) where the most important deity was no doubt Kāmākhyā (Mahāgauri). Interesting is also Hiuen Tsang's mention of Bhīmādevī of Gandhāra in association with Mahādeva worshipped by the *Tīrthikas* or *Pāsupatas*. It is well known that the Kāpālika sect of the Śaivas worshipped Śakti in association with Śiva (*supra*, p. 10, note 1). It is also to be noted that the Śūlkis of Orissa, although their family-deity was Stambheśvari, claimed to have been exclusively devoted to Maheśvara (D. R. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1697-98, 1700). The very name of the goddess shows that she was made out on a *Stambha* indicating a *Liṅga* (such Liṅgas with the representation of Śaktis being found in Eastern India; cf. *Hist. Beng.*, I, p. 452) and was thus subordinate to Śiva. A king of the Bhaṅja family of Orissa claims to have obtained boons from the goddess Stambheśvari although he was a worshipper of Viṣṇu personally (*List*, No. 1493). There are similar other references to the worship (usually and especially by the aborigines) of particular forms of the Mother-goddess; cf. *Vindhyavāsini* mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa* (circa fourth century A.D.) and Vākpatirāja's *Garūḍavaha* (eighth century). Jālandhara (Jvālāmukhi), Uḍḍiyāna (in the Swat valley), Kāmarūpa, Śrihaṭṭa and Pūrṇagiri were regarded as the greatest seats of the Mother-goddess in works dating from the eighth century (*supra*, pp. 12ff.). Śiva was, however, usually worshipped along with the Mother-goddess in such seats (*Pīṭhas*) in a form styled Bhairava.<sup>1</sup> But the gradual increase in the importance of the Mother-goddess is also sometimes noticed as suggested by her independent installation for worship (cf. also *supra*, p. 10, note 1, l. 7). In the fifth century A.D., the Maukhari chief Anantavarman established the images of Bhūtapati and Devī in a cave in the Nagarjuni hills, while in another cave he installed an image of the Mother-goddess styled Devī, Bhavānī, Kātyāyanī and the one overpowering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mahisamardini at the Śaiva establishments of Udaygiri (c. 400), Bhumara (c. 6th cent.), Mamallapuram (7th cent.), Bhubaneswar (Vaital Deul), etc.



the demon Mahiṣāsura. It should, however, be remembered that the chief was a worshipper of Śiva and Śakti and not of Śakti alone. The 'Divine Mothers', often associated with Mahāsenā as in the records of the early Kadambas and Calukyas, are known to have usually been collectively adored (*Bṛhatsamhitā*, 60, 19). The construction of a temple for them, described as a 'terrible abode, full of *Dākinīs* (female ghouls), of the Mothers who utter loud and tremendous shouts of joy and who stir up the very oceans with the wind rising from the *Tantra* (magical rites)', by a Vaiṣṇava (the 'Mothers' being subordinate to Viṣṇu in this case) royal official for merit, is referred to in a Mandasor inscription of 423 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 284f.). For another early temple of the 'Divine Mothers', see the Deogarh rock inscription of about the sixth century A.D. (*E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 126f.). But whereas the kings of the Gupta age and their successors are usually described as devotees of Maheśvara, Śambhu, Āditya, Sugata, Buddha, Tathāgata, Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), Viṣṇu, Varāha, Cakrapāṇi, Narasimha, etc., we rarely find kings who were exclusively devoted to the worship of the Mother-goddess before the age of the Gurjara-Pratiharas (eighth to the eleventh century) of Kanauj, among whom Nāgabhaṭa II, Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla I claim to have been devotees of the goddess Bhagavati (D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 25), while Mahipāla had predilections for the worship of that goddess as well as of the sun-god (Tripathi, *Hist. Kanauj*, pp. 290-91).

Neither Śiva nor Śakti, however, has been free from aboriginal associations even to this day; but the latter bears the stigma in a far more marked degree than the former, although it has of course to be admitted that Śakti is now regarded as one of the *Pañcadevatā* (Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Devī, Śiva and Viṣṇu) to be worshipped in all ceremonies (*Bṛhaddharma P.*, III, 9, 1). Certain late-medieval *Tantras* and other works dealing with the Śaiya and Śākta cults (e.g. *Annadāmaṅgala*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., p. 78) represent Śiva as an ardent lover of Koch girls. This trait, not found in earlier works, no doubt resulted from the identification of Śiva with a tribal deity of the Koch people after their Hinduization in the medieval period; but it shows that Śiva was particularly associated with non-Aryan barbarians even in comparatively modern times. We have already discussed (*supra*, p. 3, note 2) the contribution of the various non-Aryan elements in the Indian population to the conception of the Indian Mother-goddess as suggested by her names in Indian literature.<sup>1</sup> But the most glaring instance of her barbarian association in late-medieval and recent times is offered by the ceremony called Śabarotsava that was performed on the Daśamī *tithi* in connection with the autumnal worship of Durgā and is partially remembered in rural Bengal even to this day. The 'festivities on account of the excellent worship of the goddess Umā', celebrated by the people of Varendri (North Bengal), is referred to by the twelfth century Bengali author Sandhyākaranandin in his *Rāmacarita* (III, 25).<sup>2</sup> People taking part in the Śabarotsava used to cover their bodies with leaves, etc., and to besmear them with mud and other things in the style of the Śabaras who are a proto-Australoid aboriginal people of south-eastern India. Two verses occurring both in the *Kālariveka* (Bib. Ind. ed., p. 514) by the Bengali jurist Jīmūta-vāhana (fifteenth century according to Jolly, but eleventh-twelfth century according to Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, I, pp. 325-26) and in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*

<sup>1</sup> Names like *Kauśiki*, *Kātyāyanī* and *Dākṣāyanī* probably indicated deified ladies or deities worshipped by certain Aryan families or clans. See *supra*, p. 3, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest reference to the modern Bengali form of the worship of Durgā Mahiṣamardini, accompanied by Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, and Sarasvatī, is found in the *Caṇḍimāṅgala* (16th century).



(61, 21-22)<sup>1</sup> prove that the programme of this festivity included topics on and songs about the sex organs and possibly also about sexual intercourse with requisite movements of the body and that its violation incurred Bhagavati's anger and curse. The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (III, 6, 81-83), a late-medieval Bengal work of about the seventeenth century,<sup>2</sup> introduces some modifications in the above programme when it says, 'People should not utter before others words which are expressive of such things as the male and female organs of generation; they should utter these during the days of the great worship of the goddess in the month of Āśvina. But even then they should never pronounce them before their mothers and daughters and before female disciples who have not yet been initiated to Śakti worship'. Still, however, the *Purāṇa* supports by arguments that a person worthy of worshipping the Mother-goddess should utter the indecent expressions with a view to pleasing her.<sup>3</sup>

1 Cf. सुवाचिनोभिः कुमारीभिर्वैष्णविर्भर्तनैकैस्तथा ।

शङ्कतुर्यनिनादैश्च सदङ्गैः पठन्तेस्तथा ॥ १८

ध्वजेनैकैश्च विधेर्लज्जितपुष्पप्रकीर्णकैः ।

धूलिकर्दमविधेयैः क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः ॥ २०

भगलिङ्गाभिधानिश्च भगलिङ्गप्रतीतकैः ।

भगलिङ्गादिमन्त्रैश्च ( v.l. °लिङ्गक्रियाभिश्च ) क्रीडयैरुलंजनाः ॥ २१

परैर्नानिष्यते यस्तु यः पराङ्गाचिपेद्यादि ।

क्रीडा भगवती तस्य शपं दद्यात् सुदारणम् ॥ २२

<sup>2</sup> The *Brahmavivarta Purāṇa* (I, 10, 18 and 123), an East Indian adaptation of an old work and to be attributed to the fourteenth or fifteenth century (*supra*, p. 6, note 3), makes a distinction between the Ambaṣṭhas (probably the Ambaṣṭha-Kāyasthas of Bihar) and the Vaidyas (of Bengal), while the *Bṛhaddharma* (III, 14, 38-48) identifies the Vaidyas with the Ambaṣṭhas. Similarly, Kavikanthahāra's *Sadvaidyaulapanjikā* (1653 A.D.) is silent about the Ambaṣṭha origin of the Bengal Vaidyas (cf. Dacca ed., pp. 1-2), whereas Bharatamallika's *Candraprabhā* (1675 A.D.) definitely states that the Vaidyas were the same as the ancient Ambaṣṭhas (Calcutta ed., p. 4). The present-day Ambaṣṭhas of the Tamil land and Malabar (their early distribution in South India may have been wider) appear to be referred to as *Vaidyas* in inscriptions dating from the seventh century (*E.I.*, IX, p. 101; VIII, pp. 317-21; XVII, pp. 291ff.; *I.A.*, 1899, pp. 57f.). Their entry into Bengal during the rule of the Senas, hailing from Karmāta or the Kanarese country in the Deccan, is very probable, as the Senas of Bengal must have patronized South Indians in the same way as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their courts. It is thus very probable that the crystallization of the professional community of the Vaidyas or physicians of Bengal into a caste was a result of their amalgamation with the tribal Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of Southern India. This seems to have been the background on which the theory identifying the Vaidyas with the Ambaṣṭhas of early Indian literature (Manu calling them physicians) was fabricated in the late-medieval period. The above facts would show that the date of the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* is not much earlier than the seventeenth century. The reference to the stories of Kālaketu and Śrīmanṭa (III, 16, 45) seems to suggest for it more or less the same age as that of Mukundarāma's *Candimangala* (sixteenth century). It should also be noted that considerable influence of the late-medieval Tantric literature is discernible in this *Purāṇa* (cf. *supra*, p. 104, note 1). See Sircar, *The Ambaṣṭha Jātī* in *J.U.P.H.S.*, XVIII, pp. 148-61.

<sup>3</sup> See *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 606-07. Cf.

शङ्कययं वाग्वयं च नैव कुर्याद्दृष्ट्या कश्चित् ।

भगलिङ्गादिशब्दश्च नोचरेत् परमोचरम् ॥

उचरेदन्विने मासि मन्त्रापूर्वादिनेषु हि ।

मातृणाञ्च सुतानाञ्च सवीपे न तदापि च ॥

अशक्तिदीक्षितायाञ्च शिष्यायाः सन्निधौ न च ।

देवौ हि भगवपैव भगलिङ्गरसप्रिया ॥

तन्वात्तत्प्रियकाम्यायै तन्मूर्च्छासंज्ञा वदेत् ॥

## POSTSCRIPT

The *Devībhāgavata*, VII, 38, 5-30, containing an important medieval list of Śākta *tīrthas* (cf. *supra*, p. 66, note 1), is quoted below so that the names may be compared with those in the other lists quoted earlier.

कोलापुरं महास्थानं यत्र लक्ष्मीः सदा स्थिता ।

मातुः पुरं द्वितीयञ्च रेणुकाधिष्ठितं परम् ॥

तुलजापुरं तृतीयं स्यात् सप्तशृङ्गं तथैव च ।

हिङ्गुलाया महास्थानं ज्वालामुख्यास्तथैव च ॥

शाकम्भर्याः परं स्थानं भ्रामर्याः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।

श्रीरक्तदन्तिकास्थानं दुर्गास्थानं तथैव च ॥

विन्ध्याचलनिवासिन्याः स्थानं सर्वोत्तमोत्तमम् ।

अन्नपूर्णा महास्थानं काञ्चीपुरमनुत्तमम् ॥

भौमादेव्याः परं स्थानं विमलास्थानमेव च ।

श्रीचन्द्रलामहास्थानं कौशिकीस्थानमेव च ॥

नीलाम्बायाः परं स्थानं नीलपर्वतमस्तके ।

जाम्बूनदेश्वरीस्थानं तथा श्रीनगरं शुभम् ॥

गुह्यकाल्या महास्थानं नेपाले यत् प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

मीनाद्याः परमं स्थानं यच्च प्रोक्तं चिदम्बरे ॥

वेदारण्यं महास्थानं सुन्दर्या समधिष्ठितम् ।

एकाम्बरं महास्थानं परशक्त्या प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

मदालसापरं स्थानं योगेश्वर्यास्तथैव च ।

तथा नीलसरस्वत्याः स्थानं चीनेषु विश्रुतम् ॥

वैद्यनाथे तु वगलास्थानं सर्वोत्तमं मतम् ।

श्रीमच्छ्रीशुवनेश्वर्या मणिद्वीपं मम स्मृतम् ॥

श्रीमत्तिपुरभैरव्याः कामाख्या योनिमण्डलम् ।

भूमण्डले क्षेत्रज्ञं महामायाधिवासितम् ॥

\* \* \* \*

गायत्र्याश्च परं स्थानं श्रीमत्पुष्करमीरितम् ।

अमरेशे चण्डिका स्यात् प्रभासे पुष्करेक्षिणी (°क्षणा) ॥

नैमिषे तु महास्थाने देवी सा लिङ्गधारिणी ।

पुरुहता पुष्कराक्षे आषाढौ च रतिस्तथा ॥

चण्डमुखी महास्थाने दण्डिनी परमेश्वरी ।

भारभूतौ भवेद्भूतिर्नाकुले नकुलेश्वरी ॥

चन्द्रिका तु हरिश्चन्द्रे श्रीगिरौ शाङ्करौ स्मृता ।

ज्योतिष्वरे त्रिशूला स्यात् सूक्ष्मा चाम्नातकेश्वरे ॥



श्राङ्गरौ तु महाकाले शर्वानौ मध्यमाभिधे ।  
 केदाराख्ये महाक्षेत्रे देवी सा मार्गदायिनी ॥  
 भैरवाख्ये भैरवी सा गयायां मङ्गला स्मृता ।  
 स्थाणुप्रिया कुरुक्षेत्रे स्नायम्भयपि नाकुले ॥  
 कनखले भवेदुग्रा विश्वेशा विमलेश्वरे ।  
 अट्टहासे महानन्दा महेन्द्रे तु महान्तका ॥  
 भौमे भौमेश्वरौ प्रोक्ता स्थाने वस्त्रापथे पुनः ।  
 भवानी श्राङ्गरौ प्रोक्ता रुद्राणी त्वर्द्धकोटिके ॥  
 अविमुक्ते विशालाक्षौ महाभागा महालये ।  
 गोकर्णे भद्रकर्णी स्याद्भद्रा स्याद्भद्रकर्णके ॥  
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 कमलालये तु कमला प्रचण्डा ऋणलण्डके ॥  
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 शङ्खकर्णे ध्वनिः प्रोक्ता स्थूला स्यात् स्थूलकेश्वरे ।  
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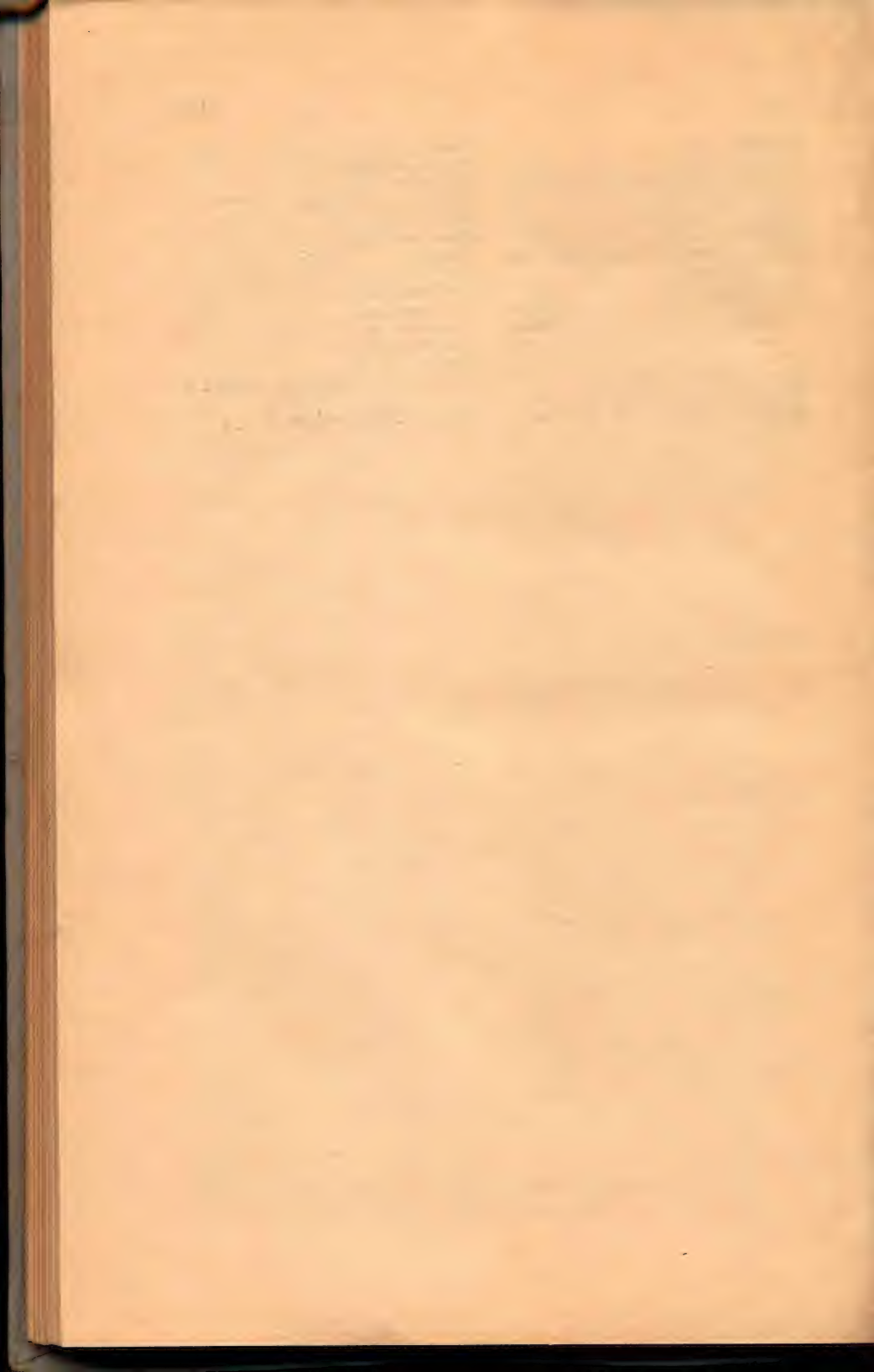


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### Addenda et Corrigenda

- Page 1, line 20. *Read*—from *for*—form
- „ 2, line 19. *Read*—Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa
- „ „ line 21. *Read*—Śivacarita
- „ 3, note 2. *Add*—As regards the maiden (Kumārī) aspect, we may note that, in every Bihāl (*vihāra*) of the Newars of Nepal, a young girl having no scar on her body is worshipped as the living form of Kālī or Durgā. There is also a similar Kumārī for the whole kingdom. The State Kumārī is periodically selected from amongst the girls of the Vanra or priestly community on the last day of the Navarātra, after a trying test. The Newars believe that the valley of Nepal belongs to the Kumārī and therefore every year the king has to receive from her a fresh mandate for ruling the country. The Kumārī is replaced by another before she approaches her first menstruation. See Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars*, reviewed in *Swarajya*, March 26, 1966, p. 27
- „ 5, line 15. *Read*—Uṣas
- „ „ lines 35 ff. *Add references*—*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV. 2-7; cf. allusion to the story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 66.9.
- „ „ note 1. *Add*—In the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* (VII. 9.16), we are told that the gods were once sharing among themselves the animals sacrificed to them in ceremonies, but that they avoided Rudra in this sharing. *Read*—Appendix III.
- „ 7, line 5. *Read*—Viṣṇu
- „ „ line 19. *Read*—afterwards



Page 8, lines 9 ff. *Read*—As will be seen below, there is reason to believe....the *Yoni* of the Mother-goddess.

*Add note*—George MacMunn says, “at Malabar in Bombay, a great cleft in the rock is known as the *Yoni*, and through it pass barren women desirous of child, who travel from far and wide to do so” (*The Underworld of India*, 1933, p. 99).

„ 11, note 1.

*Add*—We have also legends connecting holy places with the limbs of other divinities. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Chap. 104) relates a story about Vyāsa who is said to have noticed the following holy places and rivers in the limbs of the Vedas incarnate—(1) Mathurā in their heart, (2) Kāśī between the eye-brows, (3) Kāñcī in the organ of generation, (4) Avanti in the navel, (5) Dvārakā in the throat, (6) Prayāga in the life breath, (7) the Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their left and right, (8) the Sarasvatī in the middle, (9) Gayā in the face, (10) Prabhāsa between the jaw and neck, (11) Badarī in the crown of the head, (12) Puṇḍravardhana-pīṭha and Nepāla-pīṭha in the two eyes, (13) Pūrṇagiri-pīṭha on the forehead, (14) Mathurā-pīṭha on the neck, (15) Kāñcī-pīṭha on the loin, (16) Jālandhara-pīṭha on the breast, (17) Bhṛgu-pīṭha in the ear, and (18) Ayodhyā in the nostril. While there are a few cases of repetition (cf. Nos. 1 and 14, 3 and 15), it is difficult to say whether Bhṛgu (No. 17) is the same as Bhṛgukaccha. It may be noted that only Puṇḍravardhana, Nepāla, Pūrṇagiri, Mathurā, Kāñcī, Jālandhara and Bhṛgu are called *pīṭha*, but that Kāmākhyā is a significant omission.

- Page 12, note 5,     *Read*—c. 1159-79 A. D.  
                   line 16.
- „ „ note 6.           *Add*—p. 13 and notes, and p. 23 and  
   note 3 (referring to the separate mention  
   of Uḍḍiyāna and Uḍḍiśa or Orissa side  
   by side in the same list).
- „ 13, note 1, line 4. *Add*—See below p. 17, note 3. The  
   *Kālikā Purāṇa* (62. 76 ff.) applies the name  
   Kāmeśvarī to the goddess Kāmākhya.
- „ „ line 13.           *Read*—mountain
- „ „ last line.         *Add*—The goddess worshipped in the  
   Tāmreśvarī temple near Paya in the  
   Lohit District of NEFA is called Dikkara-  
   vāsini in an inscription of Śaka 1364  
   (1442 A.D.). See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*,  
   Vol. I, pp. 17ff.
- „ „ note 2,  
       lines 14-16.       *Omit*—For the same confusion...*Mahā-*  
   *bhārata*, II. 14.19. *Read instead*—See p. 13  
   and notes, and p. 23 and note 3 for the  
   separate mention of Uḍḍiśa (Orissa) and  
   Uḍḍiyāna. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 1971,  
   pp. 181 ff.
- „ 16, line 17.         *Read*—*op. cit.*
- „ „ lines 20-21       *Read*—Andhra Pradesh *for*—Madras Presi-  
       and some other       dency  
       places in the book.
- „ 18, line 1 and       *Read*—Tamil Nadu *for*—Madras Presidency  
       some other  
       places in the book.
- „ „ line 23 and       *Read*—Asiatic Society, Calcutta *for*—Royal  
       elsewhere in the       Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
       book.
- „ 19, note 1, line 3.   *Read*—*Pradyumno*
- „ „ „ line 7.           *Read*—*Kāmarūpi* (*pā*).
- „ „ „ line 8.           *Read*—*Gayā* (*yām\**).
- „ „ note 2, line 13.   *Read*—*Uḍḍiyānam*
- „ 20, line 6, and       *Read*—Uttar Pradesh *for* United Provinces  
       elsewhere in the  
       book.
- „ „ line 8.            *Read*—c. 725-53 A. D.



- Page 21, note. Add—Note the separate mention of Uḍḍiśa (Orissa) and Uḍḍiyāna.
- „ 23, note 3, line 19. Read—*hṛdādyudara*
- „ „ note 3. Add—The separate mention of Uḍḍiśa (Orissa) and Uḍḍiyāna is worthy of note.
- „ 24, note 3. Add—For the Avatāras, see also Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 41ff.
- „ 25, note 1. Add—For the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, see now Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 59ff., to note modification in the views.
- „ „ note 2, line 5. Read—c. 725-53 A. D.
- „ 30, note, last line. Read—*Madhurāyāñ = ca.*
- „ 31, note, line 33. Read—*Kurukṣetre.*
- „ 33, line 5. Read—S.E.R. for—B.N.R.
- „ 37, note, line 7. Read—in Kāmarūpa
- „ 39, line 13. Read—suggest
- „ 43, note 5, line 1. Read—*mam = āsya vapuṣo*
- „ 46, note 4, line 1. Read—*kurparañ = c = aiva.*
- „ 47, note 2, lines 6 and 8 and elsewhere in the book. Read—Tripura State in East India and Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh.
- „ „ note 2. Add—For the correct date of Dharmamāñikya, see *JAIH*, Vol. V, pp. 32-33.
- „ „ note 7, line 2. Read—*Umānando = tha.*
- „ 49, note 9. Add—See also *JAIH*, Vol. I, pp. 19ff.
- „ 53, note 3, line 2. Read—Nagpur in Maharashtra.
- „ 55, note 1, line 5 and elsewhere in the book. Read—Kathiawar (Gujarat).
- „ „ note 6, lines 4-5. Read—Nasik region of Maharashtra.
- „ 63, note, line 3. Read—Cooch Bihar District of the West Bengal State.
- „ 74, note. Add—*Lola-jihvā ālola-jihvā, lelihāna-jihvā* or *lalaj-jihvā* was really a characteristic of several Tantric gods and goddesses. See *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 301, 462-63, 470, 502, 514, 596.
- „ 80, line 38. Add—Vāyu = Vāyu Purāṇa
- „ 80, line 44. Read—Achchhabal
- „ 81, line 17. Omit—possibly a mistake for Elāpura.

- Read*—modern Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh.
- „ „ line 21 and some other places in the book. *Read*—Madhya Pradesh *for*—C. P.
- „ „ lines 27 and 46-47. *Read*—District, Rajasthan *for*—State, Rajputana.
- „ „ line 50. *Add*—See also Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 106.
- „ 82, lines 9, 25 and 27. *Read*—West *before*—Bengal.
- „ „ last line. *Read*—in Maharashtra
- „ 83, line 4. *Read*—in Haryana
- „ „ line 12. *Read*—Punjab (Pakistan)
- „ „ line 13. *Read*—in Maharashtra
- „ „ line 49. *Read*—North Bengal
- „ 84, line 8. *For*—Hyderabad State *read*—Aurangabad District of Maharashtra; may also be a mistake for *Ālāpura*.
- „ „ line 31. *Add*—According to the *Rājatarangīnī* (I.35), it was the Bheḍa hill in Kashmir and the goddess Sarasvatī appeared there in the form of a swan in a lake. The Bheḍa is identified by Stein with Buḍbrār in the valley of the Birnai (trans., Vol. II, p. 472).
- „ „ lines 44-45. *Read*—South-Eastern Railway.
- „ 85, lines 24 and other places in the book. *Read*—Rajasthan *for*—Rajputana
- „ „ line 48. *Read*—Jaipur District
- „ 86, lines 38-39. *Read*—region in Maharashtra
- „ „ line 41. *Read*—West Bengal
- „ „ line 45. *Read*—District, Bangladesh
- „ „ line 52. *Read*—Himachal Pradesh *for*—Punjab
- „ 87, penultimate and last lines. *Read*—Tamil Nadu *for*—Madras and West Bengal *for*—Bengal
- „ 88, line 11. *Add*—For modern Degām = ancient Kapālamocana in Kashmir, see Stein, *Rājatar.*, trans., Vol. II, p. 472.
- „ „ line 18. *Read*—in Haryana.



- Page ,, line 41. *Read*—Baroda District, Gujarat
- „ „ penultimate and last lines. *Read*—modern Bellary District of Karnataka and Jodhpur Division, Rajasthan
- „ 91, line 31. *Add reference*—Vāyu.
- „ 92, line 41. *Add reference*—Vāyu.
- „ 94, line 5. *Add reference*—Vāyu.
- „ „ line 17. *Add reference*—Vāyu.
- „ „ line 35. *For*—Gaya *read*—Patna
- „ 99, last line. *Add*—See also Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 100-01.
- „ 101, line 7. *Add*—See *The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography*, ed. Sircar, pp. 36 ff.
- „ „ note. *Add*—On the same subject, see also *The Vedic Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I)*, pp. 147 ff.
- „ 104, lines 31 ff. *Add note*—The deity Stambheśvarī is still worshipped by the people of the different castes of Orissa in some parts of the country under the local name Khambeśvarī and in the shape of a post or pillar without any special association with the Śivaliṅga (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 112).
- „ 105, note 2. *Add*—The autumnal worship of Durgā was prevalent in the Ayodhyā region of U. P. in the seventh century A. D. See *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, trans. S. Beal, p. 86; Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 230.





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